RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN ARAB SIND

by

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ABSTRACT

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Arabs exercised authority in Sind for over three centuries (93-416/711-1025), first as governors appointed directly by the Umayyads and ᶜAbbâsids and then, from around 240/854, as independent rulers from the Quraysh tribes of Habbâr b. al-Aswad and Sâmah b. Lu'ayy. This dissertation is concerned with four major topics in the religious history of the period: the identification of the non-Muslim religions and sects at the time of the Arab conquest; the mechanisms encouraging or impeding collaboration and conversion; the prosopography of the Sindî Muslim population; and the rise of the Ismâᶜîlî state at Multân toward the end of the period. Correlations between religious and social factors are examined in two general areas: the observed differential between Buddhist and Hindu collaboration and conversion, and the decline in the recruitment, replication, and circulation of the Muslim religious elite.

RÉSUMÉ

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Titre de la thèse: Religion et société dans le Sind arabe

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Les arabes exercèrent leur autorité au Sind pendant plus de trois siècles (93-416/711-1025), d'abord en tant que gouverneurs mandatés directement par les Umayyads et les ᶜAbbâsids et ensuite, vers 240/854, en tant que dirigeants indépendants des tribus de Quraysh de Habbâr b. al-Aswad et Sâmah b. Lu'ayy. Cette thèse porte sur quatre points principaux dans l'histoire religieuse de cette époque: l'identification des religions non-musulmanes et des sectes à l'époque de la conquête arabe; les mécanismes d'encouragement ou d'entrave à la collaboration et à la conversion; la prosopographie de la population Sindî musulmane; et l'avènement de l'état Ismâᶜîlî au Multân vers la fin de cette période. Les corrélations entre les facteurs religieux et sociaux sont examinés dans deux domaines généraux: la différentielle observée entre la collaboration et la conversion du Bouddhisme et de l'Hindouisme, et le déclin du recrutement, de la reproduction et de la circulation de l'élite religeuse musulmane.

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TRANSLITERATION, NOMENCLATURE, AND DATES

The transliteration of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu follows the regulations established by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, in its "Transliteration Table" of 19 November 1964. This differs from the system employed by the current Encyclopaedia of Islam in three particulars: jîm is transliterated j not dj, qâf as q not k, and the tâ' marbûṭah as final ah not a except in iḍâfah construction where it takes the form of at. Where the sources are both Arabic and Persian, I have followed the Arabic form of transliteration (e.g., dhimmî not zimmî) for the shared technical vocabulary. For typographical reasons, the circumflex is used to indicate the long vowel (e.g., â not ā). The initial Arabic article (al) has been disregarded for the purpose of alphabetizing in the bibliography.

Words which have entered the English language and are readily comprehensible have not been transliterated (thus caliph not khalîfah), except when encapsulated in a quotation entirely in Arabic or Persian.

Place names for Arab Sind have been given according to the usual Arabic-Persian rendition, with the exception that the Arabic article (which is inconsistently applied in the sources) generally is deleted except in quotation. Modern place names are rendered in their accepted English form (e.g., Delhi rather than Dilhî).

Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are given in two parts: the lunar hijrî and the solar Christian eras (e.g., 96/714). Since the lunar and solar years do not correspond directly,

I have given the Christian year in which the first month of the <u>hijrah</u> year falls. These have been calculated from the charts of G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, <u>The Muslim and Christian Calendars</u> (London: Oxford University Press, 1963). Dates of non-Sindî rulers and dynasties are rendered according to the relevant tables in C. E. Bosworth, <u>The Islamic Dynasties</u> (Edinburgh: University Press, 1967).

ABBREVIATIONS

ASI-AR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
EI[1]	Encyclopaedia of Islam, old edition
EI[2]	Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition
EpI	Epigraphia Indica
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur
GAL-S	Carl Brockelmann, GAL, Supplementbände
GAS	Fuat Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Islamic Culture
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JASP	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JPHS	Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSHS	Journal of the Sind Historical Society
MW	Muslim World
PA	Pakistan Archaeology
SEI	Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Only four years after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Arab Muslims appeared for the first time as a force in the region of Sind when al-Mughîrah b. Abî al-ᶜÂṣ al-Thaqafî, brother of the governor of Baḥrayn, conducted a maritime raid on the port of Daybul.[1] Intermittently for the next seventy-five years, the Arabs continued their advance eastwards, raiding and then annexing portions of Mukrân, the arid mountainous western region of greater Sind. Finally, in 93/711, a large Muslim army, under the command of Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Thaqafî, only seventeen lunar years old at the time, entered the Indus Valley and by the time of his recall and early death in 96/714 had effected the conquest of the entire province up to and beyond the city of Multân. Sind was to comprise the eastern limit of the Arab campaigns of conquest. For the following three centuries, Arabs exercised authority in Sind, first as governors appointed directly from the Umayyad and ᶜAbbâsid courts and then, from the last half of the third/ninth century, as independent rulers from the Qurayṣh tribes of Habbâr b. al-Aswad and Sâmah b. Lu'ayy. The Arab domination of Sind would persist until the annexation of the region by the Ghaznavid Turks in the first quarter of the fifth/eleventh century.

This long period of Arab rule in Sind, extending from 93/711 to 416/1025, forms the basic chronological boundaries of the study. On occasion, these limits have been extended at both ends in order to reveal long-range trends. Geographically, the region of analysis is that termed Sind by Arab historians and geographers of the classical period and not the province of Pakistan known by the same name. This included the entire tract of the trans-Indus from the Punjab to the Indus Delta as well as the areas of Mukrân (modern Baluchistan) and Ṭûrân (modern Kelat and Kachhi).[2] That is, Arab Sind was almost equivalent in extent to present-day Pakistan, with the exception of certain areas in the far north and northwest.

Thematically, four principal topics have been isolated for discussion and analysis: (1) the identification of the non-Muslim religions and sects at the time of the Arab conquest; (2) the various mechanisms encouraging or impeding collaboration and conversion; (3) the Islamic preoccupations of Sindî Muslims at home and abroad; (4) the rise of an Ismâ^cîlî state at Multân toward the end of the Arab period. A separate chapter will be devoted to each of these concerns.

The preliminary task of precisely identifying the non-Muslim religions and sects of Sind is required before one can address further issues such as conversion and resistence to conversion. It has added urgency in view of the usual mislabelling of these non-Muslim religions by modern scholars. Chapter two considers this problem of identification, devoting particular attention to establishing relative numbers and geographic distri-

bution. The conclusions of the chapter are developed initially by differentiating between various terms as they occur in the Muslim data with reference to non-Muslims in the region and then combining this material with data from the Chinese and Indic sources which specify particular sectarian groups within Sind.

The majority of explanations of conversion in Sind have tended to operate on a simplistic and mutually antagonistic coercive or voluntary model of conversion, reflecting current debates in the Indian subcontinent concerning the nature of Islam. This emphasis, it will be suggested, has resulted in the obfuscation of important social processes. Chapter three is concerned, in the main, with establishing the social basis of two observed sets of differentials relating to conquest and conversion: Why did Buddhists and not Hindus tend to collaborate with the Arab conquest? Why did Buddhism die out in Sind during the Arab period, while Hinduism managed to remain relatively intact? The analysis proceeds by isolating the class basis of the designated religious groups, apparent from the literature of the conquest, and then indicating what effect the conquest and settlement and accompanying socio-economic changes would have had, directly or indirectly, on the specified classes.

Chapter four attempts to reconstruct the religious history of Muslims in Arab Sind. Since the post-conquest data relating directly to Islam within Sind are particularly sparse, I have had recourse in this chapter to Arabic and Persian biographical dictionaries for information on seventy Muslims bearing geographic nisbahs (names of attribution) relating to Sind or its divisions:

i.e., al-Sindî, al-Daybulî, al-Manṣûrî, and al-Quṣdârî. The prosopographical data have been collated, analyzed, and then confronted with evidence directly bearing on the province of Sind. In general, the biographies are being used solely as an aggregate in order to discern the religious preoccupations of Sindî Muslims and the possible change over time in this preoccupation and in numbers of Sindîs noted in the sources.

The last century of Arab rule in Sind saw the establishment of an Ismâᶜîlî state in the northern regions of the province. Chapter five will consider this movement, its antecedents, and subsequent development in Sind. Particular attention will be directed toward the problematic question of the impact of Ismâᶜîlism on the Muslim and non-Muslim environments of fourth/tenth century Arab Sind, thus linking the analysis with topics discussed in chapters three and four.

This dissertation has a multiple objective: to provide a comprehensive and detailed account of religion in a particular social and historical context. The primary focus in what follows is on religion. My interest in society is constrained to those factors which elucidate certain problems in the religious history of Sind, especially but not exclusively, differentials in collaboration and conversion and the decline in the incidence of Sindî Muslims noted in the biographical material. The methodological problems associated with these topics will be commented on in the appropriate contexts.

Survey of the Sources

The primary historical sources for Arab Sind all focus on one major period in its history: the initial series of raids on Mukrân which culminated in the conquest of Sind by Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Thaqafî. The majority of Muslim sources concerned with the history of the nascent Islamic empire contain an account, of varying length, of the initial Thaqafite conquest and the events leading up to it. The most important of these sources is the Chachnâmah, a Persian translation of an earlier nonextant history of Sind written in Arabic.[3] It comprises an account of the pre-Islamic Buddhist and Hindu dynasties, a history of the initial Arab raids on Mukrân, and a detailed chronicle of the Thaqafite campaigns and conquests. Since the work is critical to the analyses in chapters two and three and there is some disagreement among scholars concerning its authenticity, antiquity, and reliability,[4] it will be discussed here in some detail.

Around the year 613/1216, an Arab scholar by the name of ᶜAlî b. Ḥâmid b. Abî Bakr al-Kûfî, residing at the city of Ûchh, determined to write a history of the Arab conquest of Sind in order to improve his prospects at the court of Nâṣir al-Dîn Qabâchah (d. 625/1227).[5] In pursuit of material for this project, he travelled to the twin towns of Arôr and Bhakkar where he met the qâḍî of the region, Ismâᶜîl b. ᶜAlî b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafî, in all likelihood a direct descendant of Mûsâ b. Yaᶜqûb b. Ṭâ'î al-Thaqafî who had been appointed qâḍî over Arôr at the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest.[6] The qâḍî showed him an Arabic history of Sind which had been transcribed by an unknown ancestor

and had remained in the family for many generations. Kûfî, impressed by the account, abandoned his intention of writing an independent history, translating it instead into Persian, adding an introduction, and dedicating it to the vizier ᶜAyn al-Mulk Ḥusayn b. Abî Bakr al-Ashᶜarî in the hopes of obtaining patronage.[7] The original Arabic version is no longer extant, but Kûfî's Persian translation has survived and been referred to variously as Fatḥnâmah-yi Sind, Minhâj al-din va-al-mulk, Minhâj al-masâlik, Târîkh-i Qâsimî, and popularly as the Chachnâmah.[8]

Two major historiographic traditions are expressed in the Chachnâmah--the indigenous Brahmanical and the classical Arab.[9] It is the sole source to have relayed the former and the most detailed transmitter of the latter. The local historical tradition informs the first quarter of the text covering the Buddhist Sîharsî dynasty, the revolt of the Brahmin Chach, and the reign of the Sîlâ'ij dynasty up to the time of the Arab conquest.[10] To a significant extent, this portion of the Chachnâmah can be viewed as a self-contained history. In contrast to later sections, no specific isnâd ("chain of transmitters") is given for any of its information, there are no disparaging descriptions of non-Muslim religions, and it accomodates more of the romantic and mythic types of material usually associated with early medieval north Indian historiography.[11] Moreover, the section shows an awareness of the terms and concepts of Hinduism and Buddhism not apparent in the Muslim tradition until a considerably later date.[12] This portion of the text was seemingly an independent Brahmanical history of the family of Chach, possibly oral, sim-

ilar to local chronicles of royal dynasties in contiguous areas.[13]

In addition to the cohesive section, the Brahmanical tradition was called on in several instances to augment the Arab material on the conquest, usually in order to express the local point of view on particular events.[14] Some of the later legendary material for which isnâds are lacking would also appear to have originated from the indigenous historical tradition.[15] It is likely that this was incorporated with the other materials at the time the original Arabic work was compiled.

The most extensive and detailed historical tradition expressed in the Chachnâmah is the Arab. There can be little doubt that the unknown compiler was conversant with the same Arab tradition of the conquest preserved by Balâdhurî, Ibn Khayyâṭ, Ṭabarî, and other early historians. Apart from the incorporation of an indigenous tradition, the primary difference between the Chachnâmah and the earliest surviving Arab histories is that the former is vastly more detailed than any of the latter. While other sources refer to the frequent exchange of correspondence between al-Ḥajjâj and Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim,[16] only the Chachnâmah provides an actual text (for over twenty of the letters).[17] Balâdhurî and Yaᶜqûbî describe the final battle between the Arabs and Dâhir in a single short paragraph;[18] the Chachnâmah takes over twenty pages, outlining each day's events, giving variant traditions, the names of participants, and the Arabic poetry engendered by the conflict.[19] Nor are the particulars of the short Arab accounts contradicted by the expanded version of the Chachnâmah: the concatenation of events,[20] the Arabic poetry,[21]

and the names of participants are familiar.[22] Indeed, the presence in the Chachnâmah of long lists of names framing the account of the conquest is strong supporting evidence of the antiquity of the original work.[23]

The major single informant (râwî) of the non-indigenous portion of the Chachnâmah would appear to be Abû al-Ḥasan ᶜAlî b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allâh b. Abî Sayf al-Madâ'inî (135/752-225/839 or 215/830), who is cited throughout under various forms of his name.[24] Ibn al-Nadîm (d. 380/990) lists two hundred and thirty-nine works by this prolific historian, among which are four which might have formed a source for the Chachnâmah: Kitâb thaghr al-Hind ("Book of the Indian Frontier"), Kitâb fatḥ Mukrân ("Book of the Conquest of Mukrân"), Kitâb ᶜummâl al-Hind ("Book of the Governors of India"), and Kitâb akhbâr Thaqîf ("Book of the Historical Accounts of the Thaqafites").[25] Another work by al-Madâ'inî on Sind is noted by Yâqût (d. 627/1229): Kitâb futûḥ al-Hind wa-al-Sind ("Book of the Conquests of India and Sind").[26] Since al-Madâ'inî was the major source on Sind for subsequent historians and none of his major works have survived except in quotation,[27] the Chachnâmah is valuable both for its comprehensive account of Sind and as a transmitter of an important lost historical tradition. Indeed, it is possible that the bulk of the non-indigenous material found in the Chachnâmah, including that attributed to earlier râwîs such as Abû Bakr al-Hudhalî (d. 159/775), also is derived from al-Madâ'inî.[28]

While the Chachnâmah may have suffered in translation,[29] there is good reason to conclude that it is what it claims to be--

a translation of an earlier Arabic history. It was probably compiled at the city of Arôr (where the Thaqafite qâḍîs were resident) in the course of the third/ninth century.[30] It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this work. Without the Chachnâmah, it would be difficult indeed to reconstruct the history of the Arab conquest of Sind.

The tradition of Madâ'inî on Sind has also been preserved by two of his students, Khalîfah b. Khayyâṭ al-ᶜUṣfurî (d. 240/854) and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyâ al-Balâdhurî (d. 279/892). The Ta'rîkh of the former is the earliest of Arab histories which have been preserved intact.[31] After relating the events of each caliph's reign, Ibn Khayyâṭ appends a list of appointments and dismissals of provincial officers. This biographical focus renders his history the most complete source for the names and sequence of Sindî governors up to the year 200/815. Unfortunately, his interest in the region rarely expands beyond terse administrative enumerations. The chapter devoted to Sind in the Futûḥ al-buldân of Balâdhurî is of greater consequence.[32] Indeed, the author directs more space to Sind than to Fârs, Kirmân, Sîstân, Jurjân, Khûzistân, or even Egypt.[33] As far as religion is concerned, Balâdhurî is of particular value for his description of the non-Muslim sites and peoples of Sind at the time of the Arab conquest and for the initial terms of capitulation. It should be pointed out, however, that as a condensation of a much larger work on the same topic (no longer extant), the Futûḥ contains sporadic and misleading chronological gaps which are not

readily apparent from the text.[34] Ḥence, while second only to the Chachnâmah in quantity of information presented, Balâdhurî must be used carefully in conjunction with the other Arabic material.[35]

The dynastic history of Aḥmad b. Abî Ya^c^qûb b. Wâḍiḥ al-Ya^c^qûbî (d. 284/897), also greatly indebted to Madâ'inî, refers repeatedly to events in Sind not noted by Balâdhurî.[36] As far as Sind is concerned, Ya^c^qûbî tends to focus on high-level political intrigues and tribal conflicts rather than on religious developments. He manages to accord almost two pages to the widespread revolt in Upper Sind during the period 145-52/762-69 without once noting its Shî^c^ite nature, a surprising lapse for a historian of his reported bias.[37]

The most comprehensive Muslim history written during the classical period is the voluminous Ta'rîkh al-rusul wa-al-mulûk of Abû Ja^c^far Muḥammad b. Jarîr al-Ṭabarî (d. 310/922).[38] While not forthcoming about the Thaqafite conquest, which he dismisses in a few sentences, Ṭabarî has preserved detailed variant historical traditions concerning the tangled affairs of Sind during the late Umayyad and early ^c^Abbâsid periods.[39] Unlike Balâdhurî, Ibn Khayyâṭ, or Ya^c^qûbî, he has included a lengthy narrative of the circumstances of the Pure Soul Revolt in Upper Sind during the caliphate of al-Manṣûr.[40]

With the exception of the foregoing, generally based on Madâ'inî, classical Arab historians for the most part were not concerned with events in distant Sind. What references do exist are isolated and generally noted, in passing, relative to more

central concerns of the Islamic heartlands. Abû Ḥanîfah Aḥmad b. Dâ'ûd al-Dînawarî (d. 282/895) refers in his Kitâb al-akhbâr al-ṭiwâl to the presence in Sind of Bukayr b. Mâhân, but only in relationship to his later activities as an agent for the ᶜAbbâsid revolution.[41] Nevertheless, other Arab histories of the period do contain occasional information of importance and must be consulted. The administrative history (Kitâb al-wuzarâ' wa-al-kuttâb) of the chamberlain Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdûs al-Jahshiyârî (d. 331/942), for example, preserves an itemized list of estimated revenue for Sind and Mukrân which was prepared during the early part of the caliphate of Hârûn al-Rashîd (170-93/786-809).[42]

While there is a relatively substantial body of historical material concerning the early raids on Mukrân and the Thaqafite conquest of Sind, this type of information gradually diminishes for subsequent years until it practically disappears for the later ᶜAbbâsids. As far as historical data on Sind are concerned, the Chachnâmah ends with the recall and death of Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim in 96/714, Ibn Khayyâṭ in the year 200/815, Ṭabarî in the year 213 (although scattered peripheral references occur to 235/849), Yaᶜqûbî in the year 240/854, and Balâdhurî with the caliphate of al-Muᶜtaṣim (218-27/833-42). Thereafter, one finds a hiatus of almost two centuries until the region again attracted the attention of historians with the invasion of Maḥmûd Ghaznavî.

The three most important Ghaznavid historians for Sind are Abû Naṣr Muḥammad al-ᶜUtbî (d. 427/1035 or 431/1039), ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-Ḍaḥḥâk Gardîzî (d. after 444/1052), and Abû al-Rayḥân

Muḥammad al-Bîrûnî (d. after 442/1050). The Arabic *Ta'rîkh al-Yamînî* of the Ghaznavid secretary cUtbî takes the history of Sebüktigin and Maḥmûd to the year 411/1020,[43] while the Persian *Zayn al-akhbâr* of Gardîzî, although sketchy for Sind, continues to 433/1041.[44] Both preserve the viewpoint of the Ghaznavid court on the conquest of Ismâcîlî Multân and should be read in tandem. The *Zayn al-akhbâr* also includes a useful account of the religions of India, based on a lost work on the same subject by Abû cAbd Allâh Muḥammad al-Jayhânî (d. after 309/921).[45] The famous description of India (*Kitâb fî-taḥqîq mâ li-al-Hind*) written in 421/1031 by the renowned Ghaznavid astrologer and polymath Bîrûnî is particularly valuable.[46] The author, who knew Sanskrit and thus had access to contemporary Indic works, definitely visited Multân and possibly even Lower Sind and refers to events and religious practices (primarily Hindu) in the region.[47] It should be noted, however, that his major interest was in the textual Hinduism of North India and not Sind.

The Ismâcîlî perspective on the events in Multân can be found chiefly in two works written by al-Nucmân b. Muḥammad (d. 363/973), the chief *qâḍî* of the Fâṭimid caliph al-Mucizz.[48] The focus here is on certain disputes occurring among the Ismâcîlîs of Sind around the middle of the fourth/tenth century. A long letter (dated 354/965) written by al-Mucizz to his agent in Sind at the time of the Fâṭimid conquest is preserved in the *cUyûn al-akhbâr* of the Yamanî *dâcî* cImâd al-Dîn Idrîs (d. 872/1467).[49] For a somewhat later period, the scripture of the Druze schism of Ismâcîlism (*Rasâ'il al-ḥikmah*) contains a letter which was

written to the leader of the Ismâᶜîlî community of Multân in 425/1033 by Bahâ' al-Dîn al-Muqtanâ.[50] Nevertheless, Ismâᶜîlî references to Sind are very sparse and generally relate to doctrinal matters of concern to the leadership outside Sind. Indeed, there is no Ismâᶜîlî reference to either Fâṭimid ruled Multân or its conquest by the Sunnite Ghaznavids. Nor are the standard heresiographers of much utility. While describing normative Ismâᶜîlism as they apprehended it, they generally do not refer to specific events in Sind.[51]

Later Arab historians, such as Ibn al-Athîr (d. 630/1232) and Ibn Khaldûn (d. 784/1382), tend to follow Balâdhurî and Ṭabarî relatively closely for the early and ᶜUtbî and Gardîzî for the later period, passing over the intervening years in silence.[52] They are worth consulting, however, since they did have access to additional or variant material on events in Arab Sind.[53]

Sindî historians, writing in Persian at a considerably later date, also discussed the earlier Arab period. The well-known Mughal poet, statesman, physician, and historian Sayyid Muḥammad Maᶜṣûm Nâmî Bhakkarî (d. 1010/1601) wrote a history of Sind (Târîkh-i Maᶜṣûmî) in which the first of four sections narrates the Arab conquest.[54] Somewhat later, the Kalhôrah court poet, biographer, and historian Mîr ᶜAlî Shêr Qâniᶜ Tattawî (d. 1203/1788) wrote a massive three volume general history of the world (Tuḥfat al-kirâm), the last volume of which is a special history of Sind.[55] Both of these historians have based their accounts of pre-Muslim Sind and the Arab conquest on the

Chachnâmah which, however, they have supplemented from the local oral tradition. For the most part, the added material relates the reactions of various Sindî tribes and castes to the initial conquest.[56] Qâni[c] is markedly forthcoming in communicating this indigenous tradition, freely mixing his narrative with regional genealogy, caste histories, and epic romance.[57] Both Ma[c]ṣûm and Qâni[c] flounder, however, in their brief narration of post-conquest Arab Sind, passing over the three centuries between the Arab and Ghaznavid conquests without reference to the Habbârids, Sâmids, or Ismâ[c]îlîs.[58]

For the period between the rise of the indigenous Arab dynasties and the Ghaznavid conquest, not generally covered by historians, a relatively substantial body of material is contained in the works of Muslim travellers and geographers, a number of whom actually visited Sind. Iṣṭakhrî, Ibn Ḥawqal, and Maqdisî, the primary exponents of the genre of descriptive geography known as al-masâlik wa-al-mamâlik ("the routes and the provinces"), all devote a chapter to the province of Sind.[59] Basing his work on the lost atlas of Abû Zayd al-Balkhî (d. 322/933) and his own travels, Abû Isḥâq Ibrâhîm al-Iṣṭakhrî (d. after 340/951) provides a relatively comprehensive depiction of the region of Sind, its towns, routes, and noteworthy customs.[60] Iṣṭakhrî's work, in turn, formed the initial basis for the Kitâb ṣûrat al-arḍ of Abû al-Qâsim b. Ḥawqal al-Naṣîbî, the final version of which dates from 378/988.[61] While Ibn Ḥawqal has followed the text of Iṣṭakhrî very closely, indeed reproduced the greater

part of it, he did consider the previous geographer unreliable for Sind.[62] As a result, he has affixed corrections, amplifications, and important additional information.[63] It is possible that both geographers were in Sind (perhaps between 331/942 and 336/947) since Ibn Ḥawqal describes his encounter with Iṣṭakhrî at the end of his chapter on Sind.[64]

The pro-Fâṭimid geographer and traveller Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bashshârî al-Maqdisî (d. after 378/988) was also indebted to the previous account of Iṣṭakhrî, a source he brought along with him on his travels.[65] Maqdisî visited the Indus Valley sometime between 367/977 and 375/985 and proved a perceptive observer:

> You should know that I have travelled personally over the borders of this region [Sind] and have explored all its coasts. And I saw and heard what I am about to relate. I frequently asked questions about its names, inquired into its history, and became acquainted with its cities.[66]

To his representation of the cities and itineraries of the region, normal in descriptive geography, Maqdisî has added information on commerce, religion, culture, and society, not found in either Iṣṭakhrî or Ibn Ḥawqal.

The renowned Arab scholar Abû al-Ḥasan ᶜAlî b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masᶜûdî (d. 345/956) travelled through Sind in the year 303/915 and recorded his impressions in the <u>Murûj al-dhahab wa-maᶜâdin al-jawâhir</u> and the <u>Kitâb al-tanbîh wa-al-ishrâf</u>.[67] Combining history, geography, and travelogue, Masᶜûdî provides an invaluable account of the Indus Valley at the turn of the century.

In addition to these relatively detailed accounts of Sind, there are a few exiguous travellers' reports which have

survived only in quotation. The Kitâb ᶜajâ'ib al-Hind, attributed to Buzurk b. Shahriyâr al-Râmhurmuzî and written around 339/950, transmits several reports on the authority of Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAmr al-Najîramî who, in 288/900, visited Manṣûrah, the capital of Habbârid Sind.[68] Ibn Rustah has preserved, in his Kitâb al-aᶜlâq al-nafîsah (written ca. 290/903), an eyewitness account of the Indian subcontinent given on the authority of the merchant Abû ᶜAbd Allâh Muḥammad b. Isḥâq.[69] It contains a detailed independent account of the temple of Multân which varies in certain respects from that provided by Iṣṭakhrî, Ibn Ḥawqal, or Maqdisî.[70] Mention should also be made of the Nishwâr al-muḥâḍarah wa-akhbâr al-mudhâkarah of ᶜAlî b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanûkhî (d. 384/994) which recounts a journey to Quzdâr (variation Quṣdâr) made by Abû al-Ḥasan ᶜAlî b. Laṭîf, a student of the Muᶜtazilite theologian Abû Hâshim ᶜAbd al-Salâm al-Jubbâ'î (d. 321/933).[71] While brief, the report is of utility for providing a firsthand glimpse of a Khârijite community in an outlying region of Sind.

The first geographic Risâlah of the enigmatic Arab poet Abû Dulaf Misᶜar b. Muhalhil al-Yanbuᶜî records a voyage the author alleges to have made to Sind around 331/942.[72] While the authorship of the Risâlah generally is not questioned, doubt has been cast on the improbable itinerary, and it is usually concluded that Abû Dulaf acquired his information from secondary reports circulating in Bukhârâ.[73] All the same, the brief description is valuable for a contemporary perspective on Sind, especially Multân, even if refracted through intermediaries.

Also worth consulting are the Kitâb al-masâlik wa-al-

mamâlik of Ibn Khurradâdhbih (written 232/846 and revised 272/885), mainly for routes to and from Sind, economic data, and an account of Indian castes;[74] the anonymous Akhbâr al-Ṣîn wa-al-Hind (written ca. 237/851), the earliest of the maritime commercial works on the route to India and China;[75] the anonymous Persian Ḥudûd al-ᶜâlam (written 372/982), which incorporates information particular to Fâṭimid Multân;[76] and the Kitâb al-ᶜAzîzî of the Fâṭimid geographer al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabî (d. 380/990), portions of which have been preserved by later geographers.[77]

The data preserved by Muslim geographers and travellers can be used effectively to reconstruct the social and economic history of Arab Sind. What religious information is preserved, with some exceptions, tends to be concerned with the description of notable non-Muslim artifacts (such as the temple at Multân) and religious practices (such as circumambulation) which might have been of interest to curious Muslim readers in the central heartlands.[78] Accordingly, this extensive literature is only of minimal utility for delineating the particular religious beliefs and preoccupations of the Muslims in Arab Sind.

Fortunately, biography was a genre which engaged the interests of early Arab scholars.[79] While no regional biographical dictionaries specifically for Arab Sind have survived, it has proven possible to draw on the larger body of biographical literature in order to reconstruct, at least tentatively, the post-conquest Islamic developments in Sind. As noted earlier, this was done by extracting and collating the biographies of individuals bearing Sindî nisbahs. It should be pointed out,

however, that while these sources note many tens of thousands of Muslims, they only rarely refer to Sindî Muslims. Hence, in order to expand the data base, it was necessary to refer to a large number of biographical dictionaries. These can be found listed in the notes and bibliography. I have also utilized tribal and ᶜAlid biographies and genealogies in other contexts, primarily to trace the dates and movements of individuals who, although not bearing Sindî nisbahs, were important to the history of Sind.[80]

Non-Muslim sources written in Chinese, Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Greek, and Latin have been consulted in translation. Perhaps the most important of these for Sind is the travel diary of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (ca. A.D. 596-664) who passed through the various regions of the Indus Valley not long before the Arab conquest.[81] An astute observer, he has given detailed information on sectarian affiliations, numbers of Hindu temples, Buddhist monasteries, and Buddhist (unfortunately not Hindu) monks, and noteworthy local customs which varied from normative practices in other areas of India.

The accounts of I-tsing (in India ca. A.D. 671-95) and Hui Ch'ao (in India ca. A.D. 725) are also worth consulting. While I-tsing did not visit Sind, he does refer to Buddhist sects there and in contiguous areas only fifteen years before the Thaqafite conquest.[82] Hui Ch'ao refers briefly to the Arab raids into India conducted from Sind at the time of his visit.[83] I have referred occasionally to Chinese dynastic annals for isolated

information on Sind and its trade. They are cited in the notes and bibliography.

As far as the Indic material is concerned, I have confined my attention, in the main, to literature which either was written in Sind, refers explicitly to the region, or contains information on particular sects which are known from other sources (primarily Hiuen Tsiang) to have been important in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest. Thus, for the Sammitîya, the major Buddhist sect in Sind, I have examined the first chapter of the Kathâvatthu and the ninth chapter of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa.[84] For the primary Hindu sect of the region, the Pâśupata, I have referred to the Pâśupata Sûtram, the Pañchârtha-Bhâṣya of Kauṇḍinya, and the sixth chapter of the Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha of Ṣâyaṇa-Mâdhava.[85] I also have utilized the terse smṛti (less than ninety verses) attributed to the sage Devala and written in Sind sometime between A.D. 800 and 1000.[86] Other Buddhist and Hindu works have been consulted, but are only of minor value for Arab Sind.

These literary sources have been supplemented by epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological material, where available in published form. Unfortunately, with a few exceptions (notably Banbhore), the substantive archaeological work done on the Hindu, Buddhist, and Arab sites of early medieval Sind has been negligible.[87] The great majority of pre-modern excavations took the form of treasure hunting by local colonial administrators; many of the artifacts and coins noted in early sources have simply disappeared.[88] Furthermore, British contractors appropriated

the actual material of numerous archaeological sites to serve as ballast and concrete for the construction of the railways in the nineteenth century.[89] While matters have improved somewhat in recent years, the momentous discovery of the ancient Indus Valley civilization has had the unfortunate side effect of directing subsequent archaeological research away from Buddhist, Hindu, or even Arab Sind.[90] These difficulties notwithstanding, I have made an effort to trace and utilize this crucial primary source material.

NOTES

[1]Ahmad b. Yahyâ al-Balâdhurî, Futûh al-buldân, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), pp. 431-32, indicates that the raid took place after the appointment of cUthmân b. Abî al-cAs al-Thaqafî over Bahrayn and cUmân in the year 15/636. M. Ishaq, however, suggests that the expedition took place as late as 23/643. See his "A Peep into the First Arab Expeditions to India under the Companions of the Prophet," IC 19 (April 1945): 109-14.

[2]See the chapters on Sind by the geographers Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm al-Istakhrî, Kitâb masâlik al-mamâlik, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1870), pp. 170-80; Ibn Hawqal, Kitâb sûrat al-ard, ed. J. H. Kramers, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 2, 2d ed., rev., 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), 2: 317-30; Shams al-Dîn Muhammad al-Maqdisî, Kitâb ahsan al-taqâsîm fî-macrifat al-aqâlîm, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1877), pp. 474-86. Also see Guy Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Muslim Conquest to the Time of Timur (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905; reprint ed., London: Frank Cass, 1966), p. 331, and Iraj Afshâr, "Mafhûm-i jughrâfîyâ'-yi Sind dar shicr-i fârsî tâ casr-i Sacdî," Revue de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Tehran 22 (1975): 112-17.

[3]Fathnâmah-yi Sind, al-macrûf bih-Chachnâmah, trans. from Arabic into Persian in the year 613/1216 by cAlî b. Hâmid al-Kûfî, ed. cUmar b. Muhammad Dâ'ûdpôtah, Silsilah-yi makhtûtât-i fârsîyah, 3 (Delhi: Matbacat Latîfî, 1358/1939), hereafter cited as Chachnâmah. For a review of Dâ'ûdpôtah's edition see C. N. Seddon, JRAS, 1941, pp. 171-72. For studies of this work consult Charles Ambrose Storey, Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey, 2 vols. (London: Luzac, 1927-72), 1: 650-51, 1323-24; N. A. Baloch, "Fateh Nama and Its Sources," Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference, 5th Session (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1955), pp. 79-82; Mumtaz Ali Khan, Some Important Persian Prose Writings of the Thirteenth Century A.D. in India (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1970), pp. 136-43; Irfan Habib, "A Study of Hajjâj Bin Yûsuf's Outlook and Policies in the Light of the Chachnâma," Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies (Aligarh) 6-7 (1962-63): 34-48; B. D. Mirchandani, "Chach-Nâma: References to Persia, Zabul, Kashmir and Kanauj," JIH 43 (August 1965): 369-85; Yohanan Friedmann, "The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nâma," paper presented at the International Conference on Islam in South, Southeast and East Asia, 17-22 April 1977 (typescript); Peter Hardy, "Is the Chach Nama Intelligible to the Historian as Political Theory?" paper presented at the International Seminar on Sind through the Centuries, Karachi, Pakistan, 2-7 March 1975 (typescript).

[4]The most serious criticism is of its authenticity as a translation of an older Arabic work. Francesco Gabrieli, for example, reads it as a kind of "historical romance" composed after A.D. 1000 and hence less reliable for Sind than al-Balâdhurî (see "Muhammad ibn Qâsim ath-Thaqafî and the Arab Conquest of Sind," East and West, n.s., 15 [September-December 1965]: 281-82). Yohanan Friedmann, "A Contribution to the Early History of Islam in India," in Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), p. 327, originally shared Gabrieli's pessimism ("the historical value of the Chachnâmah is open to serious question and only an exhaustive study of the book may determine which parts of it, if any, can be considered history rather than fiction"), but has recently ("Chach Nâma," 1977, pp. 12-13) come to accept its historicity: "This material [found in the Chachnâmah] is not less reliable than that found in classical Arab histories and the sceptical attitude of Gabrieli to the book as a whole does not seem to be fully justified."

[5]For further information see D. N. MacLean, "[c]Alî b. Hâmed Kûfî," Encyclopaedia Iranica, forthcoming.

[6]Chachnâmah, pp. 9-10, 235.

[7]Ibid., pp. 12, 247.

[8]See Dâ'ûdpôtah's introduction, ibid., pp. xvi-xvii.

[9]The inability to differentiate between the two strata has contributed to the objection to the authenticity of the Chachnâmah. It is assumed, and rightly, that classical Arab historians would not have composed the highly romantic stories found in certain parts of the work. For this objection see Gabrieli, pp. 282-82; Sailendra Nath Dhar, "The Arab Conquest of Sind," Indian Historical Quarterly 16 (September 1940): 598; H. C. Ray, The Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period), 2 vols. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1931-36; reprint ed., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973), 1:3.

[10]Chachnâmah, pp. 14-72.

[11]See, e.g., A. K. Warder, An Introduction to Indian Historiography, Monographs of the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, University of Toronto, vol. 1 (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972), pp. 41-63.

[12]See below chapter two for details.

[13]M. R. Haig, The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir Chiefly on Its Ancient Geography and History (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1894; reprint ed., Gurgaon: Academic Press, 1974), p. 40, notes that "this part of the chronicle is no doubt merely an embodiment of the local traditions current in the country about the time of the conquest." R. C. Majumdar is apparently referring to this portion of the work when he writes of genealogical chronicles in Sind "on which the Chachnama was based." See his "Ideas of History in Sanskrit Literature," in Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, ed. C. H. Philips, Historical Writings on the Peoples of Asia (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 17.

[14]Chachnâmah, pp. 144-45 (hukamâ'-yi Hind from a Brahmin from Mardâs b. Hudbah), p. 179 (Râm Sîyah Brahmin), p. 197 (mashâ'ikh-i barâhimah), p. 234 (barâhimah-yi Arôr). Hence, the source of this material would appear to be Brahmanical rather than Buddhist.

[15]For example, the long anecdote of Jaysîyah's spurning of the daughter of Drôhar of Kîraj and her attempted revenge (ibid., pp. 228-33).

[16]Balâdhurî, p. 437, indicates that the letters were exchanged every three days. The existence of the correspondence is noted in other early Arab sources: Ibn Khayyâṭ al-ᶜUṣfurî, Ta'rîkh, ed. Akram Diyâ' al-ᶜUmarî, 2 vols. (Najaf: Maṭbaᶜat al-Âdâb, 1386/1967), 1:308; Ahmad b. Abî Yaᶜqûb al-Yaᶜqûbî, Ta'rîkh, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1883), 2:346-47; Muḥammad b. Jarîr al-Ṭabarî, Ta'rîkh al-rusul wa-al-mulûk, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 14 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1879-1901), 2:1257.

[17]Chachnâmah, pp. 98-99, 100-101, 102-3, 115-16, 117, 125-27, 127-30, 141-43 (copied by Ḥamrân in 93/711), 149-52, 163-64 (copied by Ḥamrân), 191-92, 196-97 (copied by Nâfiᶜ in 93/711), 240-41 et passim.

[18]Balâdhurî, p. 438; Yaᶜqûbî, 2:346.

[19]Chachnâmah, pp. 164-85. While Balâdhurî, p. 438, notes simply that Dâhir was killed by a man from the tribe of Kilâb, the Chachnâmah, pp. 184-85, gives his full name (ᶜAmr b. Khâlid al-Kilâbî) and the details of Dâhir's death. While Balâdhurî, ibid., refers tersely to the Arabs building a bridge across the Indus in the territory of someone named Râsil, the Chachnâmah, pp. 156-58, 164-66, on the authority of al-Madâ'inî (see below note 24), gives the name of the prince (Râsil b. Basâyah), his relationship with other princes of Sind, and a detailed account of the reasons for his defection to the Arabs.

[20]Disregarding the names of towns or villages mentioned only in the Chachnâmah, the itinerary of the Thaqafite conquest is precisely the same as that given by Balâdhurî, pp. 436-41, and Ya^{c}qûbî, 2:345-47.

[21]Compare Chachnâmah, p. 94, with Ibn Khayyâṭ, 1:308, Ya^{c}qûbî, 2:347, and Balâdhurî, p. 441; Chachnâmah, p. 86, with Farazdaq, Dîwân, 2 vol. (Beirut: Dâr Sâdir, n.d.), 1:89; and Chachnâmah, p. 85, with Abû ^{c}Abd Allâh Muḥammad al-Marzubânî, Kitâb nûr al-qabas, ed. Rudolf Sellheim, Bibliotheca Islamica, Band 23a (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964), p. 43.

[22]Among the participants in the Thaqafite conquest who are referred to as being in Sind by both the Chachnâmah and Arab sources are Jahm b. Zuhr b. Qays al-Ju^{c}fî (ibid., pp. 101, 106 et passim; Balâdhurî, p. 436; Ṭabarî, 2:1257), Zâ'idah b. ^{c}Umayr al-Ṭâ'î (given as Rândah b. ^{c}Umayrah al-Ṭâ'î in the Chachnâmah, p. 236; Cf., Balâdhurî, p. 439), and ^{c}Aṭiyah b. Sa^{c}d b. Junâdah al-^{c}Awfî (Chachnâmah, p. 101; Ṭabarî, 3:2494).

[23]For observations concerning the prosopographical tendencies of early Arab historiography see Albrecht Noth, Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung, Teil 1: Themen und Formen, Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Band 25 (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1973), pp. 90-96, and Patricia Crone, Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), chap. 1. Many of the individuals noted in the Chachnâmah are known elsewhere in the Arab tradition (although not with reference to Sind): Nubâtah b. Ḥanzalah al-Kilâbî (Chachnâmah, passim; Hishâm b. Muḥammad al-Kalbî, Jamharat al-nasab, ed. Werner Caskel, 2 vols. [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966], 1:94, 2:449), Sufyân b. al-Abrad al-Kalbî (Chachnâmah, p. 102; Kalbî, 1:286, 2:515); Khuraym b. ^{c}Amr al-Murrî (Chachnâmah, passim; Kalbî, 1:127, 2:349); Jarrâḥ b. ^{c}Abd Allâh al-Ḥakamî (Chachnâmah, p. 102; Kalbî, 1:266, 2:259-60); ^{c}Amr b. Khâlid al-Kilâbî (Chachnâmah, pp. 184-85; Ṭabarî, 2:1149-51).

[24]As Abû al-Ḥasan Madâ'inî (pp. 94, 157, 240), Abû al-Hasan (pp. 78, 79, 81, 96 [twice], 103, 181); ^{c}Alî b. Muḥammad (pp. 221, 234, 239), Muḥammad b. Abî al-Ḥasan al-Madâ'inî (p. 164, corrected p. 290 to ^{c}Alî b. Muḥammad Abû al-Ḥasan al-Madâ'inî), and Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alî and Abû al-Hasan Madâ'inî (p. 243, see corrections pp. 266-67). For a classical account of this historian see Marzubânî, pp. 182-84 (No. 36). Also see GAL 1:140, S 1:105, 214; GAS 1:314-15; Carl Brockelmann, "al-Madâ'inî," EI[1] 3 (1936):81-82; Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1882), p. 16 (No. 47); D. S. Margoliouth, Lectures on Arabic Historians (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1930;

reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), pp. 85-91; E. L. Petersen, ᶜAlî and Muᶜâwiya in Early Arabic Tradition: Studies on the Genesis and Growth of Islamic Historical Writing until the End of the Ninth Century (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964), pp. 92-99; ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzîz al-Dûrî, Bahth fî-nash'âh ᶜilm al-ta'rîkh ᶜind al-ᶜarab, Nusûs wa-durûs, 10 (Beirut: al-Matbaᶜah al-Kâthûlîkîyah, 1960), pp. 38-39, 270-91.

25 Ibn al-Nadîm, Kitâb al-fihrist, ed. Gustav Flügel, 2 vol. (Leipzig: Vogel, 1871; reprint ed., Beirut: Khayyât, 1964), 1:103; trans. Bayard Dodge, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, 83, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 1:225-26. Hussain Khan, "The Motive behind the Arab Invasion of Sind as Gleaned from the Fatuh [sic] al-Buldan," JASP 14 (April 1969):59-60, argues that the Chachnâmah is less reliable than Balâdhurî since, while both based their accounts on al-Madâ'inî, the author of the former only consulted two of al-Madâ'inî's three [sic] works on Sind, while the latter must have had knowledge of all three since he knew al-Madâ'inî personally. However, neither Balâdhurî nor the Chachnâmah refers to any particular work of al-Madâ'inî as their source for Sind.

26 Shihâb al-Dîn b. ᶜAbd Allâh Yâqût al-Hamawî, Muᶜjam al-buldân, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866-73), 3:457.

27 For Tabarî's indebtedness to al-Madâ'inî see Gernot Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madâ'inîs in Tabarîs Annalen," Oriens 23-24 (1974):103-33. Balâdhurî would appear to have based his chapter on the conquest of Sind on the authority of al-Madâ'inî (p. 431). It is interesting that both Balâdhurî (p. 438) and the Chachnâmah (pp. 103, 239) have an isnâd with Abû Muhammad al-Hindî as an informant of al-Madâ'inî. Two very short monographs of al-Madâ'inî have been published: Kitâb al-murdifât min Quraysh, ed. ᶜAbd al-Salâm Hârûn, Nawâdir al-makhtûtât, 1 (Cairo: al-Khânjî, 1371/1951), pp. 57-80, and al-Taᶜâzî, ed. Ibtisâm Marhûn al-Sifâr and Badrî Muhammad Fahd (Najaf: Matbaᶜat al-Nuᶜmân, 1971).

28 Abû Bakr al-Hudhalî occurs in an isnâd with al-Madâ'inî (pp. 78, 81) and alone (pp. 77, 80), and it is likely that the latter are also on al-Madâ'inî's authority. The same is probably true of Maslamah b. Muhârib (compare pp. 78, 234), Abû Muhammad al-Hindî (compare pp. 103, 185, 239), and Ishâq b. Ayyûb (compare pp. 96, 98). Al-Madâ'inî is known from other sources to have written on the authority of all four of these historians (see Balâdhurî, pp. 356, 438, 464, and al-Taᶜâzî, pp. 15, 20, 30, 35, 37, 44 et passim).

29 In his introduction to the Chachnâmah, p. 11, Kûfî indicated his intention of embroidering the translation with various stylistic embellishments in order to render it more

appealing in Persian. This was limited, for the most part, to diverse adroit metaphors for the rising and setting of the sun and moon (e.g., pp. 118, 173, 199, 231, 238), the inclusion of a few of his Persian verses (pp. 13, 21, 22, 27, 231), and the addition of seventh/thirteenth century titles to second/eighth century names (e.g., Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim is styled Karîm al-Dîn, p. 127, and ᶜImâd al-Dîn, pp. 93, 106, 141, 163). However, his own efforts are found mainly in the introduction, dedication, and conclusion. The style of the translation is simple, with a clarity seemingly reflecting the original Arabic.

[30]A certain Khwâjah Imâm Ibrâhîm is cited (pp. 151-52) as an authority for correspondence between al-Hajjâj and Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim. If, as Irfan Habib suggests (p. 35), this is the Shîᶜite historian Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad b. Saᶜîd al-Thaqafî (d. 283/896), then the original Arabic text must have been compiled after this date. However, it should be pointed out that all other identifiable authorities predate al-Madâ'inî (d. 225/839). The text makes no reference to well-known third/ninth century historians such as Ibn Khayyâṭ (d. 240/854), Balâdhurî (d. 279/892), Yaᶜqûbî (d. 897), or Ṭabarî (d. 310/922).

[31]S. Zakkar, "Ibn Khayyâṭ al-ᶜUsfurî," EI² 3 (1971):838-39; J. Schacht, "The Kitâb al-ta'rîh of Halîfa b. Hayyâṭ," Arabica 16 (1969):79-81; Franz Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography, 2d ed., rev. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 71.

[32]Balâdhurî, pp. 431-46. C. H. Becker and F. Rosenthal, "al-Balâdhurî," EI² 1 (1960):971-72; Margoliouth, pp. 116-19; Petersen, pp. 136-48; Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:247-48; D. M. Dunlop, Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500, Arab Background Series (London: Longman, 1971; Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1971), pp. 84-87. For specific problems relating to Sind see Yohanan Friedmann, "Minor Problems in al-Balâdhurî's Account of the Conquest of Sind," Rivista degli Studi Orientali 45 (1970):253-60; B. D. Mirchandani, "Identification of al-Bilâdurî's [sic] Usaifân," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, n.s., 41-42 (1966-67): 251-53.

[33]Compare ibid., pp. 431-46 (Sind) with pp. 386-91 (Fârs), pp. 391-92 (Kirmân), pp. 392-402 (Sîstân), pp. 372-86 (Khûzistân), pp. 335-40 (Jurjân), and pp. 212-23 (Miṣr).

[34]For example, Balâdhurî, p. 444, moves directly from the governorship of al-Hakam b. ᶜAwânah al-Kalbî (113-20/731-37) to the establishment of the ᶜAbbâsids (132/749), merely noting that "the governors who followed fought with the enemy, took what they could, and conquered the regions whose people had rebelled." He has Mûsâ b. Kaᶜb al-Tamîmî (134-38/751-55) followed as governor by Hishâm b. ᶜAmr al-Taghlibî (151-57/768-73), skipping two intermediate governors and over ten years (pp. 444-45). Even more

misleading, he reports that ᶜUmar b. Hafs al-Muhallabî (143-51/760-68, but Balâdhurî has him as governor after Hishâm b. ᶜAmr rather than before) was followed as governor by Dâ'ûd b. Yazîd al-Muhallabî (184-205/800-820), leaving an unnoted gap of over thirty years. (See appendix B for these governors.)

[35]Most modern scholars writing of post-conquest Arab Sind have tended to rely almost exclusively on Balâdhurî and hence preserved his faulty chronology. For example, John Jehangir Bede, "The Arabs in Sind, 712-1026 A.D." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1973), p. 166, follows Balâdhurî in having Hishâm b. ᶜAmr as governor before ᶜUmar b. Hafs and then writes of "a blank of approximately ten years" about which "Arab historians are curiously silent" and for which he wishes to use the legendary account of Abû Turâb. The gap, however, is only in Balâdhurî; the governors for the period are known from other Arab sources (see appendix B). Bede appears to have had a considerable amount of difficulty establishing the sequence of Arab governors of Sind. He observes, pp. 166-67, that Rawh b. Hâtim al-Muhallabî governed Sind for eighteen years (sic, but perhaps thirteen is meant) from A.D. 787-800 when he was succeeded by Dâ'ûd b. Yazîd al-Muhallabî. In fact, Rawh only governed Sind for two years (159-61/775-77); there were over twelve governors intervening between him and Dâ'ûd (see appendix B).

[36]C. Brockelmann, "al-Yaᶜkûbî," EI[1] 4 (1934):1152-53; Margoliouth, pp. 125-26; Rosenthal, pp. 133-34; Petersen, pp. 169-74; William G. Millward, "al-Yaᶜqûbî's Sources and the Question of Shîᶜa Partiality," Abr Nahrain 12 (1971-72):47-74 (see p. 66 for al-Madâ'inî).

[37]Compare his brief account of ᶜUmar b. Hafs (2:448-49) with Tabarî (3:359-64). For Yaᶜqûbî's Shîᶜite sympathies see Millward, pp. 47-74, and Yves Marquet, "Le Šîᶜisme au IXe siècle à travers l'histoire de Yaᶜqûbî," Arabica 19 (February 1972):1-45, 19 (June 1972):1-138.

[38]R. Paret, "al-Tabarî," EI[1] 4 (1934):578-79; Rosenthal, pp. 134-35 et passim; Dunlop, pp. 88-92; Petersen, pp. 149-58. For a detailed study of his sources see Jawâd ᶜAlî, "Mawârid Ta'rîkh al-Tabarî," Majallat al-majmaᶜ al-ᶜilmî al-ᶜIrâqî 1 (1369/1950):143-231, 2 (1371/1951):135-90, 3 (1373/1954):16-56, 7 (1380/1961):425-36. For his indebtedness to al-Madâ'inî consult Rotter, pp. 103-33.

[39]See, for example, his account of the dispute between two governors of Sind, ᶜAmr b. Muhammad al-Thaqafî and Muhammad b. ᶜIzzân (sic, 2:1839, but ᶜIrâr is better; see Kalbî, 1:293, 2:423), and the revolts of ᶜUyaynah b. Mûsâ al-Tamîmî (3:138-39) and Bishr b. Dâ'ûd al-Muhallabî (3:1100-1).

[40]Ibid., 3:359-64. For a discussion of this revolt see below chapter five.

[41]Ed. Vladimir Guirgass (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1888), pp. 335-36. Bukayr b. Mâhân funded the early ^{c}Abbâsid da^{c}wah with bullion he had obtained in Sind while serving with al-Junayd b. ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmân al-Murrî (governor 104-10/722-28).

[42]Ed. Muṣṭafâ al-Saqâ, Ibrâhîm al-Abyârî, and ^{c}Abd al-Ḥafîẓ Shiblî (Cairo: Muṣṭafâ al-Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1357/1938), pp. 281-86.

[43]In the margins of Shaykh Aḥmad b. ^{c}Alî al-Manînî, Fatḥ al-wahbî, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maṭba^{c}at al-Wahbîyah, 1286/1869). See M. Nazim, "al-^{c}Utbî," EI^{1} 4(1934):1059-60; Dunlop, pp. 118-19; Wüstenfeld, pp. 57-58 (no. 174); C. E. Bosworth, "Early Sources for the History of the First Four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)," Islamic Quarterly 7 (1963):5-7. The history was simplified and translated into Persian in the year 603/1206 by Abû al-Sharaf Nâṣiḥ Jurbâdhqânî, Tarjumah-yi Târîkh-i Yamînî, ed. ^{c}Alî Qavîm (Tehran: Châpkhânah-yi Muḥammad ^{c}Alî Fardîn, 1334/1955).

[44]Ed. Muhammad Nâẓim, E. G. Brown Memorial Series, vol. 1 (Berlin: Iranschahr, 1347/1928). W. Barthold, "Gardîzî," EI^{2} 2 (1965):978; Storey, 1:65-67; Bosworth, pp. 8-10.

[45]Trans. V. Minorsky, "Gardîzî on India," BSOAS 12 (1948): 625-40. For al-Jayhânî see André Miquel, La Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du IIe siècle, Civilisations et sociétés, 7, 37, 2 vols. (Paris: Mouton, 1967-75), 1:xxiii-xxv.

[46]Trans. Edward C. Sachau, Alberuni's India, Trübner's Oriental Series, 2 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1910). For a detailed bibliography see D. J. Boilot, "al-Bîrûnî," EI^{2} 1 (1960):1236-38.

[47]Bîrûnî was definitely in Multân (ibid., 1:211, 2:9). The case for his having visited Lower Sind (based on his use of Sindî words) is summarized by N. A. Baloch in the introduction (pp. 37-43) to his edition of Bîrûnî's Ghurrat al-zîjât, Institute of Sindhology Publications, No. 26 (Hyderabad, Sind: University of Sind, 1973). Bîrûnî's Indic sources are discussed by Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Sanskritic Sources of Alberuni," JIH 52 (August-December 1974):327-60.

[48]Kitâb al-majâlis wa-al-musâyarât, ed. al-Ḥabîb al-Faqî, Ibrâhîm Shabbûh, and Muḥammad al-Ya^{c}lâwî (Tunis: al-Jâmi^{c}ah al-Tûnisîyah, 1399/1978), and Risâlat iftitâḥ al-da^{c}wah, ed. Wadâd al-Qâḍî (Beirut: Dâr al-Thaqâfah, 1970). For this well-known

Fâṭimid jurist see A. A. Fyzee, "Qadi an-Nu^{c}man: The Fatimid Jurist and Author," JRAS, 1934, pp. 1-32; W. Ivanow, A Guide to Ismaili Literature, Prize Publication Fund, vol. 13 (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1933), pp. 37-40; Ismail K. Poonawala, Biobibliography of Ismâ^{c}îlî Literature, Studies in Near Eastern Culture and Society (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1977), pp. 48-60.

[49]The Arabic text of the sijill has been reconstructed by S. M. Stern, "Heterodox Ismâ^{c}îlism at the Time of al-Mu^{c}izz," BSOAS 17 (1955):23-28. For this Yamanî historian see Ivanow, pp. 62-65, and Poonawala, pp. 169-75.

[50](Beirut: n.p., 1402/1982), pp. 474-79 (letter no. 61). Also see Silvestre de Sacy, Exposé de la religion des Druzes, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1838), 2:341-43.

[51]The only heresiographer to note the decimation of the Ismâ^{c}îlîs at Multân is Ibn Tâhir al-Baghdâdî, al-Farq bayn al-firaq, ed. Muhammad Muhyî al-Dîn ^{c}Abd al-Ḥamîd (Egypt: Maktabat Muḥammad ^{c}Alî Ṣabîḥ, n.d.), p. 293. For observations concerning the difficulty of utilizing the heresiographical material see W. Montgomery Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought (Edinburgh: University Press, 1973), pp. 1-6.

[52]Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kâmil fi-al-ta'rîkh, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1867; reprint ed., Beirut: Dâr Bayrût, 1385-87/1965-67); Ibn Khaldûn, Ta'rîkh: Kitâb al-^{c}ibar, 7 vols. (Beirut: Maktabat al-Madrasah wa-Dâr al-Kitâb al-Lubnânî, 1956-61).

[53]For example, Ibn al-Athîr, 9:345-46 (followed by Ibn Khaldûn, 4:802), refers to the conquest of Manṣûrah by Mahmûd Ghaznavî, an event not noted by ^{c}Utbî or Gardîzî. Ibn Khaldûn, 2:677-78, has given the genealogy of the Sindî Habbârids.

[54]Târîkh-i Sind, al-ma^{c}rûf bih-Târîkh-i Ma^{c}sûmî, ed. ^{c}Umar b. Muḥammad Dâ'ûdpôtah, Government Oriental Series, class A, no. 5 (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1938), pp. 4-32. An excellent study of this Sindî historian has recently been written by Husâm al-Dîn Râshdî, Amîn al-mulk Navâbu Mîru Muḥammadu Ma^{c}ṣûm Bakharî: mu'arrikh, shâ^{c}ir, sipâhî, amîr ain diplomayt (Hyderabad, Sind: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1979). Also see Storey, 1:651-53; Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi, "Tâ'rîkh-i Ma^{c}sûmî: Date of Its Composition," JPHS 14 (July 1966):200-207; Annemarie Schimmel, Islamic Literatures of India, A History of Indian literature, vol. 7, part 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), p. 35.

[55]First part of the third volume ed. Sayyid Ḥusâm al-Dîn Râshdî (Hyderabad, Sind: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1971). See Storey, 1:138-39, 656; Schimmel, p. 51. Bede, p. 14, calls the work "a scanty treatment of the history of Sind from about 400 A.D. down to the middle of the eighteenth century." However, the portion edited by Râshdî amounts to some 478 pages.

[56]For example, the account of the conversion of the Channah caste by Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim (Ma^c^ṣûm, pp. 22-23; Qâni^c^, pp. 32-33).

[57]Qâni^c^ integrates the historical romance of Sassu'î and Pannûn into his chapter on the Umayyads (pp. 46-51). He also gives prominence to the Sindification of Arab tribes (Tamîm becoming Tahîm, p. 55) and the Arabization of Sindî castes (Sûmrah being derived from Sâmirah, p. 67).

[58]Ma^c^sûm, p. 31, names only one ^c^Abbâsid governor, Abû al-^c^Abbâs (not identifiable), who was sent by Hârûn-i Rashîd and "spent a long time in the kingdom of Sind." Qâni^c^ is not much better. With the exception of Mûsâ Barmakî (probably Mûsâ b. Yaḥyâ al-Barmakî, although he definitely was not the governor of Hârûn-i Rashîd), none of the ^c^Abbâsid governors he names (pp. 53-54) can be located in the Arab sources. Clearly, neither Sindî historian had access to the Arabic material on Sind.

[59]For this important geographical genre see Miquel, 1: 267-330. For a discussion and translation of the material on India see S. Razia Jafri, "Description of India (Hind and Sind) in the Works of al-Iṣṭakhrî, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Maqdisî," Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies (Aligarh) 5 (1961):1-67.

[60]Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 170-80. See Miquel, Géographie, 1:292-99; Miquel, "al-Iṣṭakhrî," EI^2 4 (1978):222-23. For the relationship between the works of Iṣṭakhrî, Balkhî, and Ibn Ḥawqal see J. H. Kramers, "La Question Balhî-Iṣṭahrî-Ibn Ḥawkal et l'Atlas de l'Islam," Acta Orientalia 10 (1932):9-30.

[61]Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:317-30. See Miquel, Géographie, 1:299-309; Miquel, "Ibn Ḥawkal," EI^2 3 (1971):786-88.

[62]Ibid., 2:329.

[63]The majority of his corrections are of place names (e.g., Iṣṭakhrî's al-Bîrûn, p. 172, is corrected to al-Nîrûn, 2:319). However, he also has added substantive new information such as the Qur'ânic interests of the people of Multân (2:321-22) and the name of the ruler of the city of Ṭûrân (2:324).

[64]Ibid., 2:329.

[65]Maqdisî, pp. 474-86 (see p. 475 for the reference to Istakhrî). Miquel, Géographie, 1:313-30; J. H. Kramers, "al-Mukaddasî," EI[1] 3 (1934):708-9; Dunlop, pp. 165-67.

[66]Ibid., p. 475.

[67]Murûj al-dhahab, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols (Paris: L'Imprimerie impériale, 1861-77); Kitâb al-tanbîh, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1894). For the chronology of his itinerary in Sind see S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Travels of Abu'l-Hasan ᶜAli b. al-Husayn al-Masᶜudi," IC 28 (October 1954):511-12, and Ahmad M. H. Shboul, al-Masᶜûdî and His World: A Muslim Humanist and His Interest in Non-Muslims (London: Ithaca Press, 1979), pp. 5-7. Also see Tarif Khalidi, Islamic Historiography: The Histories of Masᶜudi (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975). Miquel, Géographie, 1: 205-6, has argued that Masᶜûdî was an Ismâᶜîlî dâᶜî, while Charles Pellat has suggested that he was a Twelver Shîᶜite. See his "Masᶜûdî et l'Imâmisme," in Le Shîᶜisme Imâmite: Colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 mai 1968), ed. Toufic Fahd and Robert Brunshvig (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1970), pp. 69-90.

[68]Arabic text ed. P. A. van der Lith, French trans. L. Marcel Devic (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1886). See Miquel, Géographie, 1:127-32.

[69]Ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892), pp. 132-39. See Miquel, ibid., 1:192-202.

[70]Compare ibid., pp. 135-37, with Istakhrî, pp. 173-74; Ibn Hawqal, 2:321-22; and Maqdisî, pp. 483-84.

[71]Ed. ᶜAbbûd al-Shâljî, 8 vols. (N.p.: ᶜAbbûd al-Shâljî, 1391-93/1971-73), 3:88-90. The anecdote is also transmitted by Yâqût, 4:86-87.

[72]The first Risâlah is incorporated in Yâqût, 3:445-58.

[73]V. Minorsky, "Abû Dulaf," EI[2] 1 (1960):116; Miquel, Géographie, 1:139-45.

[74]Ed. and trans. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1889). GAL 1:225; S 1:151, 407; Miquel, Géographie, 1:87-92; Dunlop, pp. 163-64.

[75]Ed. and trans. Jean Sauvaget (Paris: Less Belles-Lettres, 1948). See Miquel, Géographie, 1:116-21.

[76]Trans. V. Minorsky, with a Preface by V. V. Barthold, 2d ed., rev., ed. C. E. Bosworth, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, n.s., vol. 11 (London: Luzac, 1970), pp. 86-92, 122-23.

[77]Cited in Yâqût, 4:663 et passim, and Abû al-Fidâ', Taqwîm al-buldân, ed. M. Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1840), pp. 346-51. See Miquel, Géographie, 1:309-12, 406.

[78]Ibn Rustah, pp. 135-37, describes the Hindu temple of Multân in three pages, but says nothing of the Muslim practices in the city. Maqdisî, who actually visited Fâṭimid Sind, refers to the Shî^cite practices of the people in a single sentence (p. 481), less space than his description of the temple of Multân (pp. 483-84). In a sense, the geographic literature tends to verge on the genre of ^cajâ'ib ("wonder") works when writing of Sind.

[79]For an analysis of the biographical literature see Tarif Khalidi, "Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: A Preliminary Assessment," MW 63 (January 1973):53-65; Ibrahim Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre 'tabaqât' dans la littérature arabe," Arabica 23 (1976):227-65, 24 (1977):1-41, 150-86; Angelo Arioli, "Introduzione allo studio del ^cIlm ar-Riǧâl imamita: le fonti," in Cahiers d'onomastique arabe, ed. Jacqueline Sublet (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1979), pp. 51-89; and the articles by H. A. R. Gibb ("Islamic Biographical Literature") and Ann K. S. Lambton ("Persian Biographical Literature") in Historians of the Middle East, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, Historical Writings on the Peoples of Asia (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 54-58, 141-51.

[80]Thus, for example, the collection of biographies of ^cAlid martyrs by Abû al-Faraj al-Isbahânî (Maqâtil al-Ṭâlibîyîn, ed. S. Aḥmad Ṣaqr [Cairo: ^cÎsâ al-Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1368/1949]) has been used to establish the movements in Sind of ^cAbd Allâh al-Ashtar (see below chapter five), while the genealogical work of Ibn Ḥazm (Jamharat ansâb al-^carab, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal [Cairo: Dâr al-Ma^cârif, 1948]) has been used to supplement information on the Arab governors of Sind.

[81]Hiuen Tsiang, Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, trans. Samuel Beal, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1884). There are also two biographies of Hiuen Tsiang which were compiled during his lifetime and contain references to his travels in Sind: the anonymous She-Kia-Feng-Che, trans. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (Calcutta: Visva-Bharati, 1959) and Shaman Hwui Li, The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, trans. Samuel Beal (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1911; reprint ed., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973).

[82]I-Tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695), trans. J. A. Takakusu (London: Clarendon, 1896; reprint ed., Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966).

[83]Hui-Ch'ao, trans. in part by Jan Yun Hua, "West India According to Hui-Ch'ao's Record," Indian Historical Quarterly 39 (March-June 1963):27-37, and Friedrich Hirth, "The Mystery of Fu-lin," Journal of the American Oriental Society 33 (1913): 193-208.

[84]Kathâvatthu, trans. Shwe Zan Aung and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse, Pali Text Society Translation Series, no. 5 (London: Pali Text Society, 1915), pp. 8-98; Vasubandhu, Abhidharmakośa, trans. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, 2d ed. rev., ed. Étienne Lamotte, 6 vols. (Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1971), 5:227-301. Unfortunately, both these accounts were written by opponents of the Sammitîya and are consequently biased.

[85]Pâśupata Sûtram with Panchârtha-Bhâṣya of Kauṇḍinya, trans. Haripada Chakraborti (Calcutta: Academic Publishers, 1970); Sâyaṇa-Mâdhava, "Nakulîśa-Pâśupata-Darśanam," trans. Minoru Hara, Indo-Iranian Journal 2 (1958):8-32.

[86]Portions trans. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśastra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law), 5 vols. (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-62), 2:389-91. See Kane 2:390, note 928c, for the date of this work.

[87]In a recent attempt to rectify this situation, J. E. van Lohuizen has observed: "We may say that no pre-Islamic site [of Sind] has been excavated properly during the last 50 years and I feel it is high time we archaeologists redirect our attention to these early historical monuments of Sind, the more so as most of the work done previous to 1922, with two or three exceptions, hardly deserves the qualification of archaeological research." ("The Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sind," paper presented at the International Seminar on Sind through the Centuries, Karachi, Pakistan, 2-7 March 1975 [typescript], p. 4.)

[88]The green image of the Buddha found by James Gibb in 1859 at the stûpa of Mirpur Khas and deposited in the Karachi Museum had already disappeared by 1910 (see Henry Cousens, The Antiquities of Sind with Historical Outline, Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series, vol. 46 [Calcutta: Government of India, 1925; reprint ed., Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975], pp. 82-83). The 6,585 silver coins of the Arab period found at Marwar and reported by M. P. Bisheshwar Nath Reu ("Coins Struck by the Early Arab Governors of Sind," Journal of the Numis-

matic Society of India 9 [December 1947]:124-27) have apparently disappeared into private collections. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to trace the present location of most of the artifacts noted in the pre-partition literature.

89Bricks from Harappa provided the ballast for over a hundred miles of railway, 150,000 cubic feet of material from the ancient site of Vijnot was carted off by contractors before 1873, and much of the stûpa of Mirpur Khas has been used for the same purpose (see Cousens, pp. 74, 83, 85). Nevertheless, Cousens can write of the "wanton damage" posed by local Muslims to the Buddhist artifacts at Mirpur Khas (p. 91).

90See van Lohuizen's observations on this point (pp. 3-4). The only medieval site that has been properly studied in recent years is that of Daybul at Banbhore.

CHAPTER II

NON-MUSLIMS IN SIND AT THE TIME OF THE ARAB CONQUEST

Buddhism

It generally is conceded that a large and important portion of the population of Sind at the time of the Arab conquest was Buddhist. This conclusion has been based primarily on a reading of the various forms of the words budd and sumanîyah which occur in the Muslim sources. Unfortunately, the terms (especially the former) have been interpreted diversely, and it is by no means clear that Muslim writers used them with the intention of referring to Buddhists or Buddhism. Hence, in the interests of precision, it is necessary first to scrutinize the terms as they occur in the primary sources with reference to Sind, before reaching a conclusion regarding the extent to which Buddhism was adhered to in the region.

Budd (pl. bidadah). Henry M. Elliot has concluded that since Buddhism was the major religion of Sind at the time of the Arab conquest "it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name [i.e., budd], and not to the Persian but, 'an idol', which is itself most probably derived from the same source."[1] That the term was used to designate Hindu temples

as well only indicates, in his view, "the manifest confusion which prevailed amongst the Arabs regarding the respective objects of Brahman and Buddhist worship."[2] Even the normally careful historian Francesco Gabrieli subscribes to the Arab confusion theory, arguing from the perceived improper use of the term budd that "the oldest Arab sources [on Sind] do not seem to distinguish between the two faiths."[3] Notwithstanding the alleged Arab misapprehension, most scholars (including Gabrieli) have followed Elliot's lead and identified Buddhists wherever the term budd appears.[4] Recent research has challenged this consensus, however, and suggested that budd is an Arabized Persian word (but) denoting, in the classical period, an idol or temple, not necessarily Buddhist.[5] The evidence of the Muslim sources on Sind tends to support this view.

In the city of Daybul, where the Thaqafite conquest commenced, the temple is described by Balâdhurî as

> . . . a great budd on which there was a tall mast surmounted by a red banner unfurling with the wind over the city. The budd--which some say is a great tower (minârah)--is utilized [as a term for] those structures in which they place one or more idols (aṣnâm) which bring it fame. Sometime the idol is placed inside of the minârah.[6]

Ya^c^qûbî also calls the temple a budd, adding that it was forty cubits high and had seven hundred râtibah (sic, but possibly râhibât, nuns, is intended) attached to it.[7] The Chachnâmah designates it as a but-khânah ("idol-house"), forty cubits in height, with a dome and seven hundred beautiful maidens (kanîzak) in temple service (dar khidmat-i buddah).[8] Practically all modern scholars have adduced from the use of the term budd and its description that the temple of Daybul was a Buddhist stûpa.[9]

The evidence of the description is not compelling: it could apply equally to a Śaivite temple with the minârah perhaps representing the spiral śikhara.[10] Shams al-Dîn al-Dimashqî, for example, writes of the budd of Sûmanât which was destroyed by Maḥmûd Ghaznavî:[11] this is the well-known Śaivite shrine, probably Pâśupata, at Somanâtha Pattana which was surmounted by a massive dome and śikhara.[12] In any case, the Śaivite affiliations of the temple at Daybul are well documented: Hiuen Tsiang reports at Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo (identified with Daybul) a temple to Maheśvara Deva (an epithet of Śiva) inhabited by Pâśupata Śaivites;[13] the individuals who negotiated with the Arabs at Daybul are specifically termed Brahmins;[14] and recent excavations at Banbhore, the probable site of Daybul, have uncovered several votive Śaivite lingas, one complete with yoni, and traces of a Śaivite temple near the main Arab period mosque.[15] In consequence, it is necessary to conclude that the budd of Daybul was a Śaivite temple and not a Buddhist stûpa.

The term is also utilized by Balâdhurî with reference to the temple at Multân:

> The budd al-Multân was a budd to which offerings were brought and vows pledged. The Sindîs came there on pilgrimage, circumambulated it, shaving their heads and beards before it.[16]

Abû Dulaf, Ibn Rustah, and Dimashqî agree in terming the idol of Multân budd,[17] while the Chachnâmah more specifically designates the temple but-khânah and but-kadah (both meaning idol-house or temple) and the actual idol but.[18] Apparently basing his conclusion on the use of these terms, Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi has argued that the temple of Multân was actually Buddhist at

the time of the Arab conquest.[19] There can be no doubt, however, that this celebrated temple never was Buddhist, but rather a Hindu temple dedicated to the sun, both before and after the conquest. The temple and its worshippers will be described in a further section of this chapter.[20] For the present purposes, it is apparent that the term budd as used with reference to the temple of Multân does not indicate a Buddhist structure or idol.

The word is also employed in a general sense for idols and temples in Sind. Thus Balâdhurî explains, "everything which they exalt through worship (ᶜibâdah) is termed budd as is the idol itself,"[21] and likens the budd of Sind--he does not use the plural bidadah--to the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians.[22] The term is being used generically here for the temples and idols of all non-Muslims of Sind, not just Buddhists. This usage is consistent with the practices of Arab writers of the classical period. Ibn al-Nadîm, for example, employs budd as a generic term referring to idols in general,[23] while Abû ᶜUthmân ᶜAmr al-Jâḥiẓ considers budd synonymous with ṣanam, wathan, and dumyah, all meaning idol or image.[24]

The Muslim literature occasionally refers to the historical Buddha as budd or buddah.[25] In Sind itself, variations of the term occur as a personal name for three individuals: Buddah (the governor of Armâbîl), Budîhî (the headman of Sâwandî), and Buddah-Rakkû (the head monk of a monastery near Brahmanâbâd).[26] The Chachnâmah's gloss (maḥfûẓ al-ṣanam) on the name Buddah-Rakkû suggests the restoration to a Sindî form of the Pali Buddha-

Rakkhita (Skt., Buddha-Rakṣita), "protected by Buddha," and the equivalence of the terms buddah and ṣanam.[27] It is apparent that all three of these individuals were Buddhists, however, since the text clearly provides the supplementary designation samanî, the usual Muslim term for specific Buddhists.[28]

To be sure, the Chachnâmah does employ the term buddah with apparent reference to Buddhist structures or idols. The temple of the samanîs at Nîrûn is termed but-kadah-yi buddah, which might be rendered as Buddhist idol-temple.[29] The previously mentioned samanî, Buddah-Rakkû, is said to be in the service of buddah as the abbot of the buddah-yi nava-vihâr where he was constantly engaged in the making of idols (aṣnâm) in the form of buddah.[30] It is perhaps legitimate here to translate buddah as Buddha rather than "idol" or "temple," especially since the Buddhist context is provided by the terms samanî and vihâra. However, the naw-bahâr (sic, both it and nava-vihâr are used) of Arôr is termed both but-khânah-yi naw-bahâr and buddah-yi naw-bahâr, raising the suspicion that buddah is being used synonymously with but-khânah, and that the reference is to a temple (or idol-niche) belonging to the monastery.[31] The point is that it is difficult to be sure of the Buddhist context of budd or buddah without the presence of some other more specific term.

Unfortunately, the issue is further complicated when the term also is used to designate a tribe and region. The classical Muslim geographers frequently refer to a tribe of non-Muslims in Sind called budhah who resided in a region of the same name on the west bank of the Indus.[32] In the account of the conquest

given in the Chachnâmah, this group is known as buddah; they resided in the region of Budhîyah (also called Bûdhîyah).[33] Dâ'ûdpôtah, the editor of the Chachnâmah has identified them as Buddhist (tâbi^cîn-i buddah),[34] while Elliot has derived their name "from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote tract."[35] It seems more legitimate, however, to identify this tribe with the ancient Bodha, a tribe of the Punjab and Sind who are mentioned in the Mahâbhârata, the Râmâyana, and other early Indic sources.[36] It is a tribal not a religious designation. This is not to imply that members of the tribe were not Buddhist--some of them clearly were[37]--but only that it is hazardous to identify them as Buddhist, pristine or otherwise, solely on the basis of their name.

In sum, the term budd and its variations could, but do not necessarily, refer to Buddhists and their structures or idols. Consequently, the term as used by Muslim sources relative to Sind should be understood as a common generic designation for temples or idols unless there is additional information permitting another reading (as there is in some cases). Without such supplementary specifications, the term by itself cannot be used for the identification of specific religions in Sind.

Sumanîyah and other terms. The Muslim sources on Sind, especially the Chachnâmah, refer repeatedly to a group known as the sumanîyah (Persian: samanî, pl., samanîyân). Here there are

none of the difficulties previously encountered in the use of the term budd. There is a general consensus among Islamicists that classical Muslim writers utilized sumanîyah as a specific designation for Buddhism as a religion and individuals or groups of Buddhists.[38] The term is often used in opposition to barâhimah (Brahmanism) in Muslim discussions of the religions of India.[39]

Nor is there any difficulty with its etymology. The word is derived from the Pali samaṇa (Skt., śramaṇa)--a form actually occurring in a fragmentary inscription found at the Buddhist monastery at Mohenjo-daro[40]--which explicitly designates a Buddhist monk.[41] Ancient Indian sources commonly used the opposition śramaṇa-brâhmaṇa in the general sense of Buddhist-Hindu.[42] The Greeks employed both terms in the same connection, and perhaps the Muslim writers adopted the usage from them and not directly from the Indic material.[43] Whatever the source, it is reasonably clear that when Muslim writers refer to the sumanîyah in Sind, they are intending to refer to Buddhists (although of course they may be mistaken).[44]

The Chachnâmah also uses two other specifically Buddhist terms transcribed into Persian: bhikkû and nava-vihâr. In the first case, two individuals from the tribe of Buddah are termed bhikkû,[45] while the samanî abbot, Buddah-Rakkû, is said to be renowned for his asceticism (nâsikî) and monkishness (bhikkî).[46] The term is undoubtedly a Persian rendition of the Pali bhikkhu (Skt., bhikṣu), meaning a Buddhist mendicant monk.[47] In the second case, the Buddhist "new monastery" (Skt., nava-vihâra)

is noted in its usual Muslim form, naw-bahâr,[48] and in a literal transcription as nava-vihâr.[49] Both these terms definitely refer to Buddhists or their structures and, moreover, are used in conjunction with the more usual samanî.

According to the Muslim sources, Buddhists were particularly well-represented in the Indus Delta region and on the west bank of the Indus River. Here they also held important offices. The Delta city of Nîrûn had a succession of Buddhist governors representing a Buddhist population.[50] The Nîrûnî Buddhists would appear to have occupied a position of considerable influence in the Delta.[51] There were also Buddhists southeast of Nîrûn in the vicinity of Ishbahâr (Ishva-vihâra?) who made peace with the Arabs through the intercession of the governor of Nîrûn.[52] The two Lôhânah brothers, Môkah and Râsil b. Basâyah, rulers of the extensive region of Bêt (comprising the eastern portion of the Delta) were probably Buddhists like their grandfather Akham, the Sîharsî loyalist.[53] Balâdhurî refers to a group of Buddhists living between Nîrûn and Sadûsân (i.e., Sîwistân),[54] while the Chachnâmah notes significant numbers in the adjacent towns of Mawj and Sîwistân.[55] Further north, the Kâkah family were Buddhist monks who combined religious and secular authority in the region of Budhîyah.[56] Similarly, the hereditary governorship of Armâbîl (variation, Armâ'il), west of Sîwistân, was in the hands of a Buddhist family.[57]

Buddhists also were found east of the Indus from Nîrûn to Arôr (Arabic, al-Rûr). The latter town had a Buddhist monas-

tery (naw-bahâr), and the people who worshipped there and are said to have "renounced allegiance to the barâhimah" were surely Buddhists.[58] There was a large community of Buddhists as well as a monastery (nava-vihâr) at Sâwandî (variation, Sâwandarî) in the vicinity of Brahmanâbâd.[59] The abbot of this monastery, Buddah-Rakkû, is said to have been the spiritual guide (quṭb) of the people of the region.[60]

Although the Muslim sources clearly indicate the presence and puissance of Buddhists on both sides of the Indus in Lower Sind (i.e., from the Delta to the city of Arôr), not a single Buddhist is mentioned for the region north of Arôr. The geographical distribution of Buddhists suggested by the Muslim material is confirmed by the extant archaeological remains of Buddhist sites in Sind.[61] It is legitimate to conclude, therefore, that very few Buddhists resided in Upper Sind.

Sammitîya. The Muslim sources are not of much utility for establishing the particular sectarian systems of Sindî Buddhism. Fortunately, however, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang travelled through Sind shortly before the Arab conquest and noted the sectarian affiliations of Sindî Buddhism. According to his account, there were 460 Buddhist monasteries with 26,000 monks in greater Sind.[62] Of these, 10 monasteries (with no monks) at Multân were in ruins, while 100 monasteries with 6,000 monks in Mukrân were inhabited jointly by Mahâyânists and Theravâdins. The remaining 350 monasteries and 20,000 monks all belonged to the Theravâda sect known as the Sammitîya (see

table 1). Clearly, the paramount Buddhist school in Sind at the time of Hiuen Tsiang was the Sammitîya. Indeed, Sind was the major centre of this school in the Indian subcontinent. Almost half of all Sammitîya monks and monasteries in greater India were located in the Indus Valley.[63] No other region in the subcontinent had a similar concentration.

Not only did the vast majority of Sindî Buddhists belong to the Sammitîya just before the Arab conquest, but there is evidence to conclude that this school still prevailed among those Buddhists who did not convert after the conquest. Two inscriptions (dated Śaka 789/A.D. 857 and Śaka 806/A.D. 884) record the granting of villages at Kâmpilya (near Surat in Gujarat) for the maintenance of Buddhist monks from the district of Sind (sindhu-viṣâyaśri bhikṣusangha) who belonged to the Ârya-sangha.[64] As Hasmukh Sankalia has observed, the Ârya-sangha of the inscriptions surely refers to the Ârya Sammitîya Nikâya.[65] In consequence, any judgements made about Buddhism in the Sind at the time of the Arab conquest and settlement must be made on the basis of the Sammitîya Theravâda being the predominant Buddhist school in the region.

The traditional enumeration of Buddhist schools lists the Sammitîya Nikâya as one of the four subdivisions of the Vatsîputrîya which was itself a branch of the Sthavira.[66] The Sammitîya, the most important of these Vatsîputrîya schools, was often termed Puggalavâdin ("Personalist") after its most characteristic tenet: the belief in the existence of a "person" (Pali, puggala, Skt.,

TABLE 1

SAMMITÎYA BUDDHISM IN SIND[67]

Location	Monks	Monasteries	Stûpas
Sin-tu . . . . (Eastern Sind)	10,000	200	20
O-tien-p'o-chi-lo. . . (Indus Delta)	5,000	80	6
Pi-to-shi-lo . . . . . (Sîwistân Region)	3,000	50	2
O-fan-ch'a . . . . (Budhîyah Region)	2,000	20	5
Total	20,000	350	33

pudgala).[68] The generally accepted Buddhist theory, as it evolved, is that there is "not" (an) an absolute or permanent "self" (attâ) except as a kammic illusion (mâyâ).[69] Rather, the individual is perceived as a collection of five aggregates (Pali, khandha, Skt., skandha) which are not enduring and stand in a causal relationship to each other. The perception of individuality is caused, in theory, by the flux of these aggregates. This "truth" of anattâ is the last of the "three marks of all conditioned beings" and hence of cardinal importance to Buddhism.[70]

The doctrine held three fundamental difficulties for the Sammitîya: textual, intellectual, and moral. In the first case, the Buddha himself repeatedly had used the term puggala in a context where it is definitely distinguished from the five aggregates.[71] Their opponents accepted the texts in question but argued that the Buddha utilized the term only as a concept (paññati, Skt., prajñapti), a conventional designation for something that does not exist.[72] The Sammitîya obdurately insisted that the Buddha had used the term and any amount of rationalizing could not vitiate it. Moreover, the Sammitîya argued, the Buddha had referred to his previous births in such a way as to indicate personal reality.[73]

The intellectual problem was ably posed by the renowned Gandharan king Milinda, who was himself born in the Indus Delta:[74]

> If there is no such thing as a soul, what is it then which sees forms with the eye, and hears sounds with the ear, and smells odours with the nose . . . or perceives qualities with the mind?[75]

Furthermore, to insist upon the illusory nature of the self is to operate from a posited real self which is somehow able to

differentiate between reality and unreality and affirm the non-existence of the self. This obviously could not be true on its own authority which it repudiates. The moral difficulty is in validating a responsibility for ethical action in the absence of a soul:

> If, most reverend Nâgasena, there is no permanent individuality (no soul). . . . Who is it who lives a life of righteousness? . . . Who is it who lives an evil life of worldly lusts, who speaks lies?[76]

The Sammitîya sought to reconcile these problems by accepting the actual existence of the puggala referred to be the Buddha. It is this "person" which would be the subject of the individual's actions and responsible for them. Since the "person" transmigrated, it was not identical with the aggregates which did not. In their formulation, the "person" was different from the "self" (attâ); hence, they avoided, in their view, contradicting the crucial Buddhist doctrine of anattâ.[77]

The importance of this pivotal Sammitîya tenet is that, in sharp contrast to the sophistry of the normative Buddhist theories of the time, it is eminently comprehensible. As Edward Conze has observed of the Sammitîya:

> All these arguments have the advantage of being easily understood. The Personalists seem to just reiterate the commonplace conceptions to which the ordinary worldling has become habituated. . . . Aversion to speculative flights and an endeavour to safeguard the data of common sense are the powerful motives behind this kind of argumentation.[78]

That is, the overwhelming popularity of a Personalist view, as evidenced by the Sammitîya, would tend to support a kind of Buddhist populism and textualism in Sind.

Other schools. While the Sammitîya was the major school of Sindî Buddhism in terms of numbers and influence, there were small communities of Buddhist monks in the region who belonged to other schools. Hiuen Tsiang mentions adherents of the Theravâda intermingled with the Mahâyâna in Eastern Mukrân, although he does not specify their precise affiliation.[79] He does refer, however, to several Sarvâstivâdin monasteries in areas contiguous to Sind, including Iran.[80] According to another Chinese pilgrim, I-Tsing, a few adherents of this school coexisted in Sind with the Sammitîya.[81] It is possible that the Sammitîya of Sind had been Sarvâstivâdin previously, since Upagupta (ca. third century B.C.) "sojourned here [Sin-tu] whilst engaged in the conversion of men,"[82] and Kâtyâyana (ca. first century B.C.) is said to have built a monastery in the region of Sîwistân.[83] Moreover, fifth century A.D. inscriptions found at the stûpa of Tor-Dherai (Baluchistan) record the dedication of a watering place for the Sarvâstivâdins.[84] If this is the case, then Sindî Buddhists had changed their sectarian affiliation by the seventh century A.D.

Finally, there is the problematic question of the position of the Mahâyâna in Sind. I. H. Qureshi has argued that "when Hiuen Tsang [sic] visited the subcontinent in the middle of the seventh century, he still found Mahâyâna Buddhism the prevailing religion in Western areas."[85] He further suggests that the presence of this school in Sind indicates that Buddhism was losing out to Hinduism in the region because the "Mahâyâna had gone so far in making compromises with Brahminism that it

had-lost its stamina."[86] Thus, he concludes, they welcomed the Arab conquest. While his analysis may or may not be acceptable,[87] it certainly cannot be based on the account of Hiuen Tsiang who explicitly specifies the Sammitîya Theravâda as the most important and populous Buddhist school in both Western India and Sind. Indeed, Hiuen Tsiang found followers of the Mahâyâna only in a mixed community with Theravâdins in Eastern Mukrân.[88] Compared to the Sammitîya, they were insignificant.

A number of scholars have concluded that Buddhism in Sind must have been Mahâyâna due to the amount of image sculpture found on Buddhist stûpas in the region.[89] Images, however, were not an isolated Mahâyâna phenomenon. Whatever may be the case with the Theravâda in general,[90] there is no doubt that the Sammitîya utilized images in their structures in the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsiang mentions several Sammitîya monasteries in India which contained images of the Buddha, including one with over a hundred rows of niches, each with a gold statue.[91] Image worship (buddha-pûjâ) also was common among the Sammitîya of Valabhî, a region adjacent to Sind.[92] Hiuen Tsiang himself refers to a Sammitîya monastery in Sind which possessed a blue stone image of the Buddha reputed to emit a "divine light."[93] Clearly, the presence of image sculpture on the Buddhist remains found in Sind in no way detracts from their being Sammitîya.

There is questionable evidence for the presence in Sind of Tantric Buddhism, a branch of the Mahâyâna. The Hevajra Tantra (ca. eighth century A.D.) lists Sindhu as one of the centres of the Mantrayâna.[94] While some recent scholars have

interpreted the passage literally,[95] the early commentators on the text take the locations to be symbolic: "Internally these places exist in the body in the form of veins and there is no need to look elsewhere for them."[96]

In any case, there is good reason to doubt the general acceptance of Tantric Buddhism in Sind or by Sindî Buddhists. During the reign of the Pâla king Dharmapâla (ca. 770-810 A.D.), a group of Buddhist monks from Sind (saindhava śrâvakas) travelled to the temple of Vajrâsana at Bodh Gaya, burnt what Tantric scriptures they found there, and destroyed the temple's silver image of Hevajra.[97] By way of defense, the Sindîs told the people:

> That which is called Mahâyâna is only a source of livelihood for those who follow the wrong view. Therefore, keep clear of those so-called preachers of the True Doctrine.[98]

This incident reveals a militant antagonism among Sindî Buddhists against the Mahâyâna in general and the Tantrayâna in particular. Such a perception would be in keeping with their Sammitîya affiliation. Hiuen Tsiang observed that the Sammitîya of Sind "have narrow views and attack the Mahâyâna."[99] It is apparent, therefore, that the Mahâyâna was neither as widespread nor as influential in Sind as is commonly thought.

Hinduism

Barâhimah. As previously noted, the Arabic compound barâhimah-sumanîyah was employed by classical Muslim writers to signify the Indic distinction brâhmaṇa-śramaṇa: the former representing Brahmanism, the latter all other non-Brahmanical

Indian religious systems, but especially Buddhism.[100] It should be borne in mind that variations of the term "Hindu" occur in the early Muslim sources only as a geographic, linguistic, or ethnic designation.[101] Nevertheless, the terms Hindu and Hinduism are being used here for the sake of convenience and to avoid confusion with members of the Brahmin caste.[102]

H. M. Elliot has argued that at the time of the Arab conquest Sind was predominantly Buddhist, basing his views not only on the use of the terms budd and samanî in the Chachnâmah, but on

> . . . the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any mention of priestcraft, or other pontifical assumption, of widow-burning, of sacerdotal threads, of burnt-sacrifices, of cow-worship, of ablutions, of penances, or of other observances and ceremonies peculiar to the tenets of the Brahmanical faith.[103]

It is very difficult, however, to sustain the argument of a solely Buddhist Sind. The Chachnâmah frequently employs the term brahman (with both plurals--the Arabic barâhimah and the Persian brahmanân) in its account of Sind.[104] As a native of Brahmanâbâd informed Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Thaqafî at the time of the conquest:

> The prosperity of this country is due to the Brahmins (barâhimah). They are our scholars (ᶜulamâ') and sages (ḥukamâ'). All our important rituals--from marriage to mourning--are performed through their mediation.[105]

Members of this group are noted in the Chachnâmah in the cities of Daybul,[106] Brahmanâbâd,[107] Arôr,[108] Multân,[109] and elsewhere with reference to Sîlâ'ij administrators and army commanders.[110]

Moreover, Elliot notwithstanding, the Chachnâmah does refer to Brahmin priestcraft,[111] widow-burning,[112] the veneration

of the cow,[113] Brahmanical rituals such as cremation,[114] and caste related concerns for purity and pollution.[115] Elliot's contention that Chach "though a Brahman by birth still continued a Buddhist in his persuasion" and that his brother Chandar "was actually a Buddhist ascetic" is simply unwarranted.[116] Chach was not only a member of the Brahmin caste (jamâᶜah-yi brahman),[117] but a Brahmin who specialized in the recitation of the Vedas: "I have memorized all four books of India (kutub-i Hind): Rg, Jaj, Asâm, and Atharîn."[118] The reference is clearly to the four Vedas--Rg, Yajur, Sâma, and Atharva--which together form the basis of Hindu sacred knowledge.[119] The view that Chandar was a Buddhist ascetic, which frequently reoccurs in the secondary literature,[120] is based solely on a passage in the Chach-nâmah which calls him a monk (râhib) and ascetic (nâsik).[121] Not all monks and ascetics were Buddhist. Indeed, it is clear from an earlier speech of Chach that he, his brother Chandar, and his father Sîlâ'ij were all Brahmin priests from a temple near Arôr:

> The Brahmin said: "My name is Chach b. Sîlâ'ij, the monk (râhib). My brother Chandar and my father as well reside in the fire-temple (kunisht-i taᶜabbud-gâh) of the cultivated fields of the city of Arôr."[122]

As a result, it is possible to conclude that Buddhism, while important in Sind, was not the only or even the predominant religion. Hindus were definitely in the vast majority in Upper Sind (where, as noted, there were few if any Buddhists), but probably at least equal in numbers to the Buddhists in Lower Sind and Mukrân.[123]

Pâśupata Śaivism. Hinduism in Sind, like Buddhism, had a particular sectarian configuration at the time of the visit of Hiuen Tsiang. While less forthcoming on Hinduism than Buddhism, this Chinese pilgrim does enumerate 273 Hindu temples within the confines of greater Sind. Of these, 1 was the sun-temple of Multân, 37 were inter-sectarian, and the remaining 235 belonged to the Pâśupata Śaivites.[124]

Hiuen Tsiang found a concentration of Pâśupata temples in Eastern Mukrân (Long-kie-lo) where the capital possessed a lavishly ornamented temple of Maheśvara Śiva inhabited by Pâśupatas.[125] There is additional evidence of Śaivites, if not necessarily Pâśupatas, in this region. Hinglâj, about eighty miles west of the Indus Delta, is celebrated as one of the fifty-one pîṭhas (places of pilgrimage) where the severed limbs of Śiva's consort Satî fell when she expired.[126] The western-most of Hindu pilgrimage sites, there is a Śaivite temple here devoted to the goddess, known locally as Bîbî Nânî by the Muslims and Pârvatî, Kâlî, or Mâtâ by the Hindus.[127] It is one of the most sacred sites of later Hindu Śâktism.[128] Kâlî is also honoured by a small temple, of undetermined antiquity, located on Heptalar Island (Śata-dvipa), twenty-six miles southeast of Pasni on the coast of Mukrân.[129]

A number of Pâśupata temples were located in the Indus Delta. The city of Daybul (Devala) was renowned for its temple devoted to Maheśvara Śiva: "The temple is ornamented with rich sculptures, and the image of the Dêva is possessed of great spiritual powers. The Pâśupata heretics dwell in the temple."[130]

The temple has been excavated, yielding an idol-pedestal and a number of Śaivite _liṅgas_, including one intact with its _yoni_.[131] The veneration of the _liṅga_ in this region is confirmed, at a later date, by Bîrûnî who states that "in the south-west of the Sindh country this idol is frequently met with in the houses destined for the worship of the Hindus."[132] According to Muslim sources, the temple at Daybul had a spire and dome, and contained within it seven hundred women devoted to its service.[133] The reference is clearly to _deva-dâsîs_, "servants of the god" (i.e., of Śiva as lord of the dance), who were associated with medieval Hindu temples as dancers, musicians, and entertainers.[134] There are scriptural indications of Śaivism in the Delta region as well. The _Śiva Purâṇa_ refers to the Indus River as a place where "ablution therein accords perfect knowledge,"[135] while the lake at the juncture of the Indus and the sea was a site where "on touching the holy water . . . the Dharma of holy ascetics eradicated all their impurities."[136] There are also a number of sites in the Delta which are sacred to the Kânphaṭa Śaivites, a sect closely connected to the Pâśupata.[137]

Hiuen Tsiang reports Pâśupata temples on the west bank of the Indus in the regions of Sîwistân (Śivisthâna) and Budhîyah (also known as Śivi).[138] Archaeological evidence attests to the presence of Śaivites in the region. A number of terracotta seals were uncovered at Jhukar (six miles west of Larkana) with the inscription "of Hara (Śiva), the wearer of skulls" (_Śrî karpari harasya_).[139] Śaivite artifacts have been found in other parts of Sind. For example, several _liṅgas_ and statues of Śiva and

consort have been uncovered in the ruins of Vijnot and Brahmanâbâd.[140] It is evident, therefore, that the predominant sectarian expression of Hinduism was Śaivism in its Pâśupata form.

The Pâśupata was a Śaivite sect associated with Śiva in his aspect of the "Herdsman" (paśu, "animal" and pati, "lord").[141] While the worship of this form of Śiva in Sind may have considerable antiquity,[142] the Pâśupata system itself became prominent in North India in the century before the Arab conquest.[143] It has an unique theology and series of rituals which sharply differentiate it from other Hindu systems.[144] First and foremost, the Pâśupata doctrine is thoroughly theistic. The Supreme Lord (Îśvara), absorbing the functions of other deities, was considered the ultimate cause, the creator, maintainer, and destroyer of the universe.[145] He is beginningless, unborn, and eternal. While other Hindu systems believed that God must act in conformity with karma, the Pâśupata maintained the radical view that God was absolutely independent:

> We must admit that the power of unobstructed action by which the Lord, who is of inconceivable power, causes (all) effects, is a power which follows His will. Accordingly, it has been said by those versed in our (Pâśupata) tradition. "God acts according to his will, independent of human deeds (karma) and so forth." From this cause he is said in scripture to be the cause of all causes.[146]

Chach b. Sîlâ'ij would appear to be reflecting this view of Śiva when he describes his belief in "the One God, incomparable and without equal, the Creator of the world" (khudâ-yi yagânah bî-chûn va-bî-chigûnah va-âfrîdgâr-i ᶜâlam).[147] While H. T. Lambrick has seen a Muslim gloss in this passage of the Chach-

nâmah,[148] the sentiment expressed is certainly comprehensible within a Pâśupata theist perspective.[149] Moreover, there is a clear precedent available in the Muslim material on Indian sects which uniformly attribute to the Pâśupata (bâhawadîyah or mahâdawîyah) a belief in the Creator (al-khâliq).[150] As Bruce Lawrence has pointed out with regard to Shahrastânî's description of the Pâśupata, "it is the only instance in Milal wan-niḥal or other extant Muslim accounts where an India sect is credited with worshipping the Creator Himself."[151] One is reminded here of Śankara's refutation of the Pâśupata as those who believe in God as the Creator of the world.[152] The theism of the Pâśupata is recognized by Shahrastânî who subsumes the sect under the rubric aṣḥâb al-rûḥânîyât ("followers of spiritual beings") rather than cabadat al-aṣnâm ("idol-worshippers").[153]

The Pâśupata aspirant (sâdhaka) followed a specific regimen of rituals through five stages leading eventually to deliverance (duḥkhânta or nirvâṇa).[154] In the initial stage, the aspirant resided in a temple and undertook the characteristic Pâśupata rite of bathing the body with ashes three times a day.[155] He also was required to worship Śiva through six kinds of oblations: e.g., laughter, song, and dance.[156] In the next stage, the aspirant abandoned his sectarian marks, left the temple, and deliberately courted the censure of the population through disreputable or improper acts. These are the six doors (dvâras) incumbent on the Pâśupata aspirant: krâthana (snoring or pretending to be asleep when awake), spandana (trembling parts of the body as if suffering from illness), maṇḍana (limping like

a cripple), śṛṅgâraṇa (making amorous gestures at a young woman), avitatkaraṇa (performing nonsensical or improper actions), and avitadbhâṣaṇa (uttering nonsensical or contradictory speech).[157] The calculated elicitation of abuse and censure, while similar in many respects to Cynicism,[158] is unique in Hinduism with the Pâśupata.[159] It was done in order to transfer merit (i.e., to absorb the positive merit of those abusing the aspirant) and, more importantly, to cultivate ascetic detachment from the world by appearing offensive: "For he who is despised lies happy, freed of all attachment."[160]

The successful practice of this regimen ultimately led the aspirant to duḥkhânta. Significantly, in a theistic system, it was achieved not solely through individual effort but "through the grace of God."[161] In sharp contrast to other Hindu systems, the individual soul does not become absorbed in God, but remains forever in a state of linkage from which there is no return by way of rebirth:

> In other systems vidhi (e.g. the Vedic prescriptions) leads to a heaven from which one must return (to rebirth on earth); but here (our prescriptions) leads to the presence (of God) and so forth from which there is no return.[162]

Two kinds of deliverance are mentioned--the impersonal and the personal. The former is negative, consisting of "the absolute destruction of all suffering."[163] The latter, however, is positive, granting to the individual various higher powers (e.g., the ability to see and hear all objects) of Maheśvara Śiva.[164]

Saura. The second identifiable Hindu religious group in Sind was the solar cult (Saura) devoted to the worship of the

sun-god Sûrya. It was centred primarily at the sun-temple of Multân (Mûlasthâna), although its adherents were found elsewhere judging from the elaborate stone frame of Sûrya found in the ruins of Brahmanâbâd.[165] Although incorporating elements of Vedic solarity, the sect had a foreign origin, being derived from the Iranian worship of Mithra (Skt., Mitra).[166] The Chach-nâmah actually refers to the Multân temple as Mistravî and Minravî, names which clearly reflect Mitravana ("forest of Mitra"), an alternate Purâṇic designation for Mûlasthâna.[167]

The legend of the importation of heliolatry into Sind is known from several Purâṇas. Sâmba, a son of the Yâdava prince Kṛṣṇa, was cured of leprosy through the intercession of Sûrya and hence built a temple in the god's honour at Mûlasthâna (also called Sâmbapura).[168] Since he was unable to locate a Brahmin willing to officiate over the new form of worship, he introduced Maga (Arabic, majûs) priests from Eastern Iran (Śâka-dvîpa). According to Varâhamihira, a Maga priest himself, they were the only individuals qualified to serve the sun-god, a view corroborated by Bîrûnî.[169] They eventually were integrated into the caste system as Brahmins.[170]

The hub of heliolatry in Sind was at the renowned temple of Multân. Indeed, it was the most important sun-temple in all India at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit:

> There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-dêva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. . . . The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail

> to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to this Dêva). They have founded a house of mercy (happiness), in which they provide food, and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so.[171]

The gold image described by Hiuen Tsiang was removed by Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim at the time of the Arab conquest.[172] Later Muslim descriptions of the idol are of a restored, leather-covered version.[173]

According to Bîrûnî, the idol of Multân was called Âditya, another name of the sun-god.[174] It is probable that Multân is the unnamed temple of the <u>dînîkîtîyah</u> (restored as <u>Âditya-bhaktîyah</u>, "sun-worshippers") mentioned by the Muslim sources on Indian religions.[175] Ibn al-Nadîm observes of this group that "persons with maladies--leprosy, leprous skin, lameness, and other distressing forms of illness"[176] came to the sun-idol in order to find a cure. Sanative and convalescent objectives for making the pilgrimage are confirmed specifically for the sun-temple of Multân.[177] Indeed, the <u>Kuvalayamâlâkahâ</u> (written 779 A.D.) refers to seriously ill and disabled individuals in the city of Mathurâ making plans to visit Mûlasthâna in order to be cured of their disabilities.[178] It is probably this curative function of the sun-god which made the temple of Multân important as a centre of pilgrimage for Indian and Sindî Hindus.

<u>Other sects</u>. Although the evidence is not substantial, there were probably other local Hindu sects extant in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest. A large bronze statue of the

god Brahmâ, one of the finest of its type, has been uncovered at Mirpur Khas in southeast Sind.[179] Since, during this period, Brahmâ was subordinate to both Śiva and Viṣṇu,[180] perhaps the image originally belonged to a Śaivite temple.

As one would expect in an arid land dominated by a major river, folk tales and legends attest to an old cult of the Indus River.[181] The primary example of this riverine cult is found in the legend of Uḍêrôlâl who is thought to be an incarnation of Varuṇa, the god of waters.[182] Suniti Chatterji has suggested that the name is derived from the Prakrit Uḍḍa-yara, "creator of the waters," an epithet of Varuṇa.[183] It is likely that this form of river-worship, so characteristic of later Sindî Hinduism, extended back to the Arab period. The Saindhava dynasty (eighth-ninth centuries A.D.), formed in Kathiawar by emigrants from Sind, had as their emblem the fish, the sign of Varuṇa.[184] It should be pointed out, however, that the sources for the period under consideration neither cite nor describe any river-worshipping sects actually within Sind. Perhaps they were contained as regional variations within the pan-Indian Hindu systems (Saura or Pâśupata) named in the sources.

NOTES

[1]Henry Miers Elliot, The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, the Muhammadan Period, ed. John Dowson, 8 vols. (London: Trübner, 1866-77; vol. 1 reprinted in 3 vols., Historians of Sind, Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1955-56), 3:106. According to Joseph T. Reinaud, Fragments arabes et persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde antérieurement au XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1845), p. 193, the Arabs adopted the term as a result of contact with Buddhism, the predominant religion of the first Indian areas they invaded.

[2]Ibid., 3:108.

[3]Gabrieli, p. 285. The argument also occurs in Jane I. Smith, "Early Muslim Accounts of Buddhism in India," Studies in Islàm 10 (January-April 1973):87-100.

[4]Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947): A Brief Historical Analysis, Publications in Near and Middle East Studies, Columbia University, series A, no. 1 (The Hague: Mouton, 1962), pp. 37-44; Ram Kumar Chaube, India as Told by the Muslims (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1969), p. 135; S. M. Yusuf, "The Early Contacts between Islam and Buddhism," University of Ceylon Review 13 (January 1955):23-24. Even Gabrieli, p. 285, who accepts the Arab confusion theory, adds that the religion of Sind was Buddhism "as is suggested by the name budd which the Arabs gave to every temple or idol in the country." If the Arabs misused the term budd, how then can it be used to authenticate the religion of Sind as Buddhism?

[5]H. W. Bailey, "The Word 'But' in Iranian," BSOAS 6 (1930-32):279-83; Daniel Gimaret, "Bouddha et les bouddhistes dans la tradition musulmane," Journal Asiatique 257 (1969):274-78; B. Carra de Vaux, "Budd," EI^2 1 (1960):1283-84.

[6]Balâdhurî, p. 437. Francis Murgotten in his translation of Balâdhurî (The Origins of the Islamic State, Columbia University Studies in the Social Sciences, nos. 163-163a, 2 vols. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1916-24; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1968-69]) has misled non-Arabists by rendering budd al-Daybul as "Buddhist temple in ad-Daibul" (2:217-18).

[7]Ya^{c}qûbî, 2:345-46. Gabrieli, p. 286, comments on the râtibah of Ya^{c}qûbî: "I do not know what the 700 râtiba are--if this is the right reading of it--that the victors are said to have found in the Buddhist temple." The meaning is clear, however, from the parallel passage of the Chachnâmah (p. 108).

[8]Chachnâmah, pp. 104, 108.

[9]Elliot, 3:106-7; Qureshi, p. 38; Smith, p. 89; Gabrieli, p. 285; Gimaret, p. 275; A. S. Bazmee Ansari, "Daybul," EI^2 2 (1965):188-89.

[10]According to Varâhamihira (sixth century A.D.), the Śaivite temple at Kannaneru had "flags waving from its golden spires." See Ajay Mitra Shastri, India as Seen in the Bṛhat-saṁhitâ of Varâhamihira (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969), pp. 402-3.

[11]Nukhbat al-dahr fî-^{c}ajâ'ib al-barr wa-al-bahr, ed. A. F. Mehren, Collectio Editionum Rariorum Orientalium, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1923), pp. 45, 170.

[12]V. N. More, ed., Somanatha Temple (Calcutta: Aryavarta Samskrti Samsad, 1948), pp. 32-36 et passim; Nundo Lal Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, 2d ed. (London: Luzac, 1927; reprint ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1971), pp. 157-58. For its Pâśupata connections see Asoke Kumar Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, Bharatiya Vidya Studies, no. 4 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956), p. 332.

[13]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:276. This depends on identifying O-tien-p'o-chi-lo with the Indus Delta and Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo, its capital, with Daybul. For a convincing itinerary see H. T. Lambrick, Sind: A General Introduction, History of Sind Series, vol. 1 (Hyderabad, Sind: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1964), pp. 146-51 and map following p. 170.

[14]Chachnâmah, pp. 104, 106, 108, 110.

[15]Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, "Fourteen Kufic Inscriptions of Banbhore, the Site of Daybul," PA 3 (1966):73-74; S. M. Ashfaque, "The Grand Mosque of Banbhore," PA 6 (1969):188, 198-99; "Banbhore," PA 5 (1968):183-84; "Excavations at Banbhore," PA 1 (1964):53. Bazmee Ansari, p. 189, does not accept the identification of Daybul with Banbhore since, he asserts, "Iṣṭakhrî makes separate mention of the town of Daybul and the idol temple of Bahamburâ (Bhambûr)." Iṣṭakhrî, however, mentions no such city in his section on Sind (pp. 170-80). Perhaps Ansari is thinking of Ibn Ḥawqal's Bâmîrâmân (2:219), which is a variation of Brahmanâbâd.

[16]Balâdhurî, p. 440.

[17]Abû Dulaf quoted by Yâqût, 3:457; Ibn Rustah, p. 136; Dimashqî, p. 175.

[18]Chachnâmah, pp. 239-40.

[19]Qureshi, p. 43.

[20]See pp. 57-59 above.

[21]Balâdhurî, p. 437.

[22]Ibid., p. 439, again translated by Murgotten (2:271) as "the Buddhist temples."

[23]Ibn al-Nadîm, 1:347. Bayard Dodge (2:831) translates budd as Buddha, even though Ibn al-Nadîm's examples of great bidadah include the idol of Multân which was definitely Hindu.

[24]Cited by Gimaret, p. 274.

[25]Bîrûnî, Taḥqîq, 1:121, 158; Sharaf al-Zamân Ṭâhir al-Marwazî, Kitâb ṭabâ'iᶜ al-ḥayawân, ed. and trans. V. Minorsky, James G. Forlong Fund, no. 22 (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), text p. 34, trans. p. 46, and commentary pp. 141-42; Abû al-Fath Muḥammad al-Shahrastânî, al-Milal wa-al-niḥal, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kîlânî, 2 vols. (Cairo: Muṣṭafâ al-Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1381/1961), 2:252-53. Also see the translation and commentary of Bruce B. Lawrence, Shahrastânî on the Indian Religions, with a Preface by Franz Rosenthal, Religion and Society, 4 (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 42, 100-108.

[26]Chachnâmah, pp. 42-46, 48-49, 219.

[27]Ibid., p. 42.

[28]Ibid., pp. 42, 48, 219. For the term samanî see above pp. 40-41.

[29]Ibid., p. 118.

[30]Ibid., pp. 42-47.

[31]Ibid., p. 226.

[32]Iṣṭakhrî, p. 176; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:323; Ḥudûd, p. 123; Yâqût, 4:772-73 (incorrectly as nudhah).

[33]Chachnâmah, pp. 121-24.

[34]Ibid., p. 281.

[35]Elliot, 2:142.

[36]For references in the Indic material consult B. D. Mirchandani, "Ancient Bodha," JIH 44 (April 1966):45-53; D. C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971), pp. 31-32; S. Muzafer Ali, The Geography of the Purâṇas, 2d ed. (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973), pp. 137-38.

[37]Their chief Kâkah b. Kôtak is designated a samanî and a bhikkû (Chachnâmah, pp. 120, ~~123), while~~ his father Kôtak is also called bhikkû (ibid., p. 39).

[38]For the sumanîyah see Elliot, 3:108; Gimaret, pp. 288-306; Edwin E. Calverly, "Sûmaniyyah," MW 54 (July 1964):200-202; S. Maqbul Ahmad, Indo-Arab Relations: An Account of India's Relations with the Arab World from Ancient up to Modern Times (New Delhi: Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1969), pp. 19-24; Sayyid Sulaymân Nadvî, ᶜArab ô Hind kê taᶜalluqât, Silsilah-yi likchar-i Hindûstânî Akaydmî, no. 5 (Allahabad: Hindûstânî Akaydmî, 1929), pp. 216-23.

[39]Muṭahhar b. Ṭâhir al-Maqdisî (hereafter cited as Muṭahhar to distinguish him from the geographer Maqdisî), for example, divides the Indian religions into two major sects (niḥlàtâni): the barâhimah and the sumanîyah. See his Kitâb al-bad' wa-al-ta'rîkh, ed. and trans. Clement I. Huart, 6 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899-1919), 1:144, 197. Also see Bîrûnî, Taḥqîq, 1:21 and notes 2:261.

[40]John Marshall, Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, 3 vols. (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1931), 1:116.

[41]Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), pp. 48-49; A. K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, 2d ed., rev. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), pp. 33-42. While the major reference is to Buddhism, the term is also applied to other non-Brahmanical systems such as Jainism.

[42]According to Dutt, p. 40, the grammarian Patañjali (second century B.C.) used Śramaṇa-brâhmaṇa as an example of compound formation of names of things "at perpetual enmity." Also see Lalmani Joshi, Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of

India (during the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.) (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967), p. 416: "Buddha and his gospel in its original form was 'Śramanism' as different and distinguished from 'Brâhmanism'."

[43]A compilation of the classical Greek material on the Śramaṇa-brâhmaṇa can be found in R. C. Majumdar, The Classical Accounts of India (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960), chap. 13: "Accounts of Brahmanas and Sramanas." Also see Sylvain Lévi, "Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs," Revue de l'histoire des religions 23 (1891):36-40.

[44]The concern here is solely to differentiate Buddhists from Hindus in Sind. For the use of the term in later Muslim polemics consult Gimaret, pp. 292-306.

[45]Chachnâmah, pp. 39, 120-23.

[46]Ibid., p. 42.

[47]Dutt, pp. 54-57.

[48]Chachnâmah, p. 226. For a discussion of this term in an Iranian context see Richard W. Bulliet, "Naw Bahâr and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism," Iran 14 (1976):140-45, and A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "L'Evocation littéraire du Bouddhisme dans l'Iran musulman," Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam 2 (1974):1-72.

[49]Ibid., pp. 42-46.

[50]Ibid., pp. 93, 116-18, 131, 155. Cf., Balâdhurî, pp. 437-38.

[51]As evidenced by their dispatch of two Buddhists from the city to negotiate a separate peace with al-Ḥajjâj before the conquest (Balâdhurî, pp. 437-38; Chachnâmah, p. 93). The Buddhist governor of Nîrûn accompanied the Thaqafite army of conquest, using his influence with the population of the Indus Delta on behalf of the Arabs (Chachnâmah, pp. 118, 132).

[52]Chachnâmah, p. 132.

[53]Ibid., pp. 133-35, 144, 149, 155-57 et passim. Môkah was the son of Basâyah Śarband (pp. 156-57, 165) who was, in turn, the son of Akham Lôhânah (pp. 42-44) who definitely was a Buddhist (p. 42).

[54]Balâdhurî, p. 438, where the reference is to sumanîyah sarbîdas. It is unclear whether Sarbîdas is the name of a place or person.

[55]Chachnâmah, pp. 118-21, 145-46. Cf., Balâdhurî, p. 438.

[56]Ibid., pp. 39, 120-23. Perhaps Hiuen Tsiang (2:273-74) is referring to the Kâkah family of secularized monks when he notes a group of Sammitîya Buddhists in Sind who "shave their heads and wear the Kashâya [reddish-yellow] robes of Bhikshus, whom they resemble outwardly, whilst they engage themselves in the ordinary affairs of lay life."

[57]Ibid., p. 48.

[58]Ibid., p. 226. Cf., Balâdhurî, p. 439.

[59]Ibid., pp. 42-47, 218-19. Balâdhurî, p. 439, gives the name of the town as Sâwandarî.

[60]Ibid., p. 42.

[61]See below appendix A.

[62]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:272-82.

[63]In his account of India, Hiuen Tsiang notes some 750 monasteries and 44,000 monks affiliated to the Sammitîya. Hence, not only was Sind the major Indian centre of this school (350 monasteries and 20,000 monks), but the Sammitîya (and not the Mahâyâna as is often thought) was the largest single Buddhist school in greater India at the time (compare 32,900 Mahâyâna, 16,800 Sthavira, and 1,900 Sarvâstivâda).

[64]A. S. Altekar, "A New Copper Plate of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Branch, Dated Saka 806," EpI 22 (1933-34): 64-76; D. R. Bhandarkar, "Plates of Dantivarman of Gujarat; Saka-Samvat 789," EpI 6 (1900-1901):285-94. It is interesting that Varâhamihira also refers to Sindhu as a viṣâya ("district"). See A. M. Shastri, Bṛhatsaṁhitâ, p. 99.

[65]Hasmukh D. Sankalia, The Archaeology of Gujarat (Including Kathiawar) (Bombay: Natwarlal, 1941), p. 233.

[66]For a general discussion of the traditional enumeration of the Buddhist schools see André Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule, Publications de l'Ecole française d'extrême-

orient, 38 (Saigon: L'Ecole française d'extrême orient, 1955), pp. 15-30.

67 Hiuen Tsiang, 2:272-80. There is considerable argument over the location of these place names. I have followed the identifications proposed by Lambrick, pp. 146-51, which seems the most promising. B. D. Mirchandani has proposed another, although improbable (it rests on the assumption that Sin-tu was in the Punjab not Sind), itinerary. See his "Sind and the White Huns and Identification of Hiuen Tsiang's Sin-tu Kingdom," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, n.s., 39-40 (1964-65): 61-94; "Hiuen Tsiang's Place Names Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo, Long-kie-lo and Su-nu-chi-shi-fa-lo," JIH 47 (August 1969):237-51; and "On Hiuen Tsiang's Travels in Baluchistan," JIH 45 (August 1967): 310-55.

68 The following discussion of the tenets of the Personalists is based primarily on Vasubandhu, 5:227-301; the Kathâvatthu, pp. 8-98; and the Kathâvatthuppakarana-Atthakathâ, trans. Bimala Churn Law, The Debates Commentary, Pali Text Society Translation Series, no. 28 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 9-43. The school has been studied by Bareau, pp. 121-26; Edward Conze, Buddhist Thought in India (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), pp. 121-31; Nalinaksha Dutt, Buddhist Sects in India (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1970), pp. 194-226; and Etienne Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme indien: des origines à l'ère Saka, Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 43 (Louvain: Université de Louvain, 1958), pp. 571-606.

69 Two excellent studies of the Buddhist doctrine of anattâ have been published recently: Steven Collins, Selfless Persons: Imagery and Thought in Theravâda Buddhism (Cambridge: University Press, 1982) and Joaquín Pérez-Remón, Self and Non-Self in Early Buddhism, Religion and Reason, 22 (The Hague: Mouton, 1980).

70 O. H. de A. Wijesekera, The Three Signata: Anicca, Dukkha, Anatta (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1960).

71 Vasubandhu, 5:258-59 et passim. Also see Dîgha Nikâya, trans. T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. 2-4, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1899-1921), 3:223; Anguttara-Nikâya, trans. F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare, The Book of the Gradual Sayings, Pali Text Society Translation Series nos. 22, 24, 25, 26, 27; 5 vols. (London: Pali Text Society, 1932-36), 1:14-15.

72 Vasubandhu, 5:237-40. See N. Dutt, p. 200.

73 See, for example, the Majjhima Nikâya, trans. I. B.

Horner, The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings, Pali Text Society Translation Series, nos. 29-31 (London: Pali Text Society, 1954-59), 1:94-95, where the Buddha tells Sârigupta that a Tathâgata rembers his former births thinking "such and such was I by name, having such a clan, such a colour, so was I nourished, I experienced this and that pleasure and pain, so did the span of life end. As that one I, passing from this, rose up again elsewhere."

[74]He was born at Kalasîgrâma in Alasanda-dvîpa. See Sircar, pp. 233-34 for its identification with the Indus Delta.

[75]Milinda-Pañha, trans. T. W. Rhys Davids, The Questions of King Milinda, Sacred Books of the East, vols. 35-36, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890-94; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1963), 1:133. Also see Vasubandhu, 5:271 and Kathâvatthu, p. 26.

[76]Milinda, 1:41; Kathâvatthu, pp. 43-50.

[77]The Personalists went to considerable lengths to avoid the identification of their puggala with the attâ or atman. See Vasubandhu, 5:227-31; Kathâvatthu, pp. 3-32 passim.

[78]Conze, pp. 127-28.

[79]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:277.

[80]Ibid., 2:278 (Iran), 2:269-70 (Gurjjara), 1:173-75 (Chinapati, Punjab).

[81]I-Tsing, p. 9.

[82]Hwui Li, p. 152. Cf., Hiuen Tsiang, 2:273. Upagupta was claimed by the Sarvâstivâdins as the leader of their school (Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 273).

[83]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:280. Kâtyâyana was the author of the main Abhidhamma text of the Sarvâstivâdins (Warder, ibid., pp. 342-43).

[84]Sten Konow, "Note on the Tôr-Dhêrai Inscriptions," in Aurel Stein, An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 37 (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publications Branch, 1929), pp. 93-97.

[85]Qureshi, p. 37.

[86]Ibid.

[87]See below chapter three.

[88]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:277. There were Mahâyâna monasteries north of Sind--Varana, Udiyana, and Taxila--but they were all in ruins at the time of his visit (1:119, 136-43; 2:281-82).

[89]Cousens, p. 106; D. R. Bhandarkar, "Buddhist Stûpa at Saidpur in Sind," ASI-AR, 1914-15, p. 94; H. T. Lambrick, Sind before the Muslim Conquest, History of Sind Series, vol. 2 (Hyderabad, Sind: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1973), p. 132.

[90]S. Dutt, pp. 188-94, indicates that the worship of the image of Buddha was common among the Theravâdins from the third century A.D. They frequently combined the worship of the symbol (the stûpa) with the image by recessing the image into a niche on the stupa base. The images of the Buddha found on the stûpa of Mirpur Khas in Sind were situated in this fashion. See Cousens, pp. 82-97 and plates 20-21.

[91]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:44-45. Cf., 1:202, 230.

[92]S. Dutt, pp. 228-29; Sankalia, p. 232.

[93]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:280-81.

[94]Ed. and trans. D. L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study, London Oriental Series, no. 6, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 1:70.

[95]Joshi, p. 335; Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 499.

[96]Hevajra, 1:69-70. The quote is from the commentary of Vajragarbha.

[97]The incident is reported in two different works of the Tibetan historian Târanâtha: History of Buddhism in India, trans. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, ed. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970), p. 279, and Taranâthas Edelsteinmine: Das Buch von den Vermittlern der Sieben Inspirationen (Petrograd: Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1914), p. 93. L. Chimpa, p. 279, suggests that the word Saindhava is probably a corruption of Śiddha, but this is unlikely. Since they are mentioned along with Sinhalese monks, surely a geographic or ethnic designation is intended. For the role of the Sinhalese in this incident see R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, Robe and Plough:

Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1979), pp. 242-48.

98 Târanâtha, History, p. 279.

99 She-Kia-Fang-Che, p. 120. Cf., Hiuen Tsiang, 2:273.

100 See the discussion pp. 40-41 above. For an overview see F. Rahman, "Barâhima (Brahmans)," EI² 1 (1960):1031.

101 See, for example, Chachnâmah, p. 213, where hinduvân refers to Indians in general and, p. 223, where hindavî is used for the Indian language.

102 The convention of spelling the name of the caste Brahmin (rather than the more correct Brahman) is followed here in order to differentiate the caste from the cosmic principle.

103 Elliot, 3:108.

104 Chachnâmah, pp. 17-18, 20, 22, 28, 55, 58, 183-84, 197, 207-14, 224, 230, 232, 234, 239.

105 Ibid., p. 213. Cf., p. 55.

106 Ibid., pp. 104-10.

107 Ibid., pp. 207-15.

108 Ibid., pp. 17, 224, 227.

109 Ibid., pp. 239-40.

110 Ibid., pp. 183-84. Since Chach and his descendants are specified as Brahmins in numerous places (pp. 18, 22, 28, 58, 230 et passim), it is assumed that all the Sîlâ'ij governors who were his relatives were of the same caste.

111 For example, Brahmins performed astrological duties for the state (ibid., p. 55; Cf., p. 104), marital and funerary rites (p. 213), and temple functions (pp. 17, 22).

112 Ibid., p. 195; Balâdhurî, p. 439.

[113]Since Arabs are expressly despised as cow-eaters (gâw-khwârân), ibid., pp. 195, 222.

[114]Ibid., p. 68.

[115]Ibid., pp. 20-27, 54-68, 228-34. Indeed, the prominence given by the Chachnâmah to these legendary incidents of Sîlâ'ij pollution suggests a Hindu rationalization of the fall of Sind as due to the impure state of the ruling Brahmin family.

[116]Elliot, 3:107.

[117]Chachnâmah, p. 22. Cf., pp. 17-18.

[118]Ibid., p. 18.

[119]According to Varâhamihira, Brahmins were distinguished according to which Veda they belonged. One (like Chach) well-versed in all four Vedas was called câturvidya. See A. M. Shastri, Bṛhatsaṁhitâ, p. 195.

[120]Qureshi, p. 31; Mohammad Habib, "The Arab Conquest of Sind," IC 3 (1929):86; R. C. Mitra, "The Decline of Buddhism in India," Visva-Bharati Annals 6 (1954):31.

[121]Chachnâmah, p. 50.

[122]Ibid., p. 17; Cf., p. 30.

[123]Since Hiuen Tsiang has given the estimated circumference (in li) of the capital cities of each province he visited as well as the number of Buddhist (but not Hindu) monks, it is possible to make a tentative estimation of both total and Buddhist populations of Sind following the procedures outlined for the Chinese data on India by Josiah C. Russell, "The Population of Hiuen Tsang's India (A.D. 629-645)," JIH 47 (August 1969): 367-83. Using this imperfect data, one can estimate the population of the capital city (assuming a density of 60 to 100 to the hectare), the total population of each province (assuming the city had 1.5 percent of the regional population), and the Buddhist population (assuming the monks formed 1 percent of the Buddhist population as a whole). If this procedure is veridical, then the Buddhists comprised from 25 to 41 percent of the entire population of greater Sind, ranging from none in the province of Multân to a high of from 46 to 77 percent in Eastern Sind. Excluding Multân, Buddhists formed from 31 to 52 percent (depending on the density of the capital city) of the population, with the upper figure probably being more accurate. It must be pointed out,

however, that these figures and calculations are extremely provisional. Hiuen Tsiang's estimation of the extent of the capitals and the numbers of Buddhist monks is suspiciously uniform. It is highly unlikely that the capitals of Multân, Eastern Sind, Las Bela, and the Indus Delta would all be 30 li. Further, it is not clear whether the cities formed 1.5 percent, or more or less, of the total population or what percentage of the Buddhist population was monks. Nevertheless, the data indicate, in a general way, the relative balance between the two religions in Lower Sind and the predominance of Hinduism in Upper Sind.

[124] Hiuen Tsiang, 2:272-81. This does not include Varana (Fa-la-na), modern Bannu in Waziristan, which had five Pâśupata temples (2:281-82). This area may have been incorporated in Arab Sind.

[125] Ibid., 2:277.

[126] Dey, pp. 75-76; Sircar, pp. 94, 102; Benjamin Walker, The Hindu World: An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism, 2 vols. (New York: Praeger, 1968), 1:399.

[127] For a description of this famous temple see Charles Masson, Narrative of a Journey to Kalât (London: Richard Bentley, 1843), pp. 390-91; Albert W. Hughes, The Country of Baluchistan: Its Geography, Topography, Ethnology, and History (London: G. Bell, 1878; reprint ed., Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977), pp. 55, 148-49; Captain Hart, "Some Account of a Journey from Kurrachee to Hinglaj, in the Lus Territory, Descriptive of the Intermediate Country, and of the Port of Soumeanee," JASB, n.s., 9 (February 1840): 152; Robert Leech, "Brief History of Kelat, Brought down to the Deposition and Death of Mehrab Khan, Brahoee," JASB, n.s., 12 (June 1843):474-75; Mark Aurel Stein, "On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia: An Archaeological Tour in Las Bela," Geographical Journal 102 (November-December 1943):202-3. Śaivite pilgrimage to the site is discussed by George W. Briggs, Gorakhnâth and the Kânphata Yogîs (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1938; reprint ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), pp. 105-10. It is unfortunate that this site, of undeniable antiquity, has not yet attracted the attention of archaeologists.

[128] Sanjukta Gupta, Dirk Jan Hoens, and Teun Goudriaan, Hindu Tantrism, Handbuch der Orientalistik, vol. 2, no. 4, pt. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 37-38.

[129] Dey, p. 20; Masson, pp. 391-93; Leech, p. 474; Baluchistan District Gazetteer, comp. C. F. Minchin, 9 vols. (Bombay and Karachi: Government of India, 1906-8), vol. 8: Makrân, by R. Hughes-Buller, pp. 276-80.

[130]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:276.

[131]See note 15 above.

[132]Bîrûnî, 2:104. It is not clear, however, whether "south-west of the Sindh country" refers to the Indus Delta or to Eastern Mukrân.

[133]Balâdhurî, p. 437; Ya^cqûbî, 2:345-46; Chachnâmah, pp. 104, 108.

[134]Margaret Stutley and James Stutley, A Dictionary of Hinduism: Its Mythology, Folklore and Development, 1500 B.C.-A.D. 1500 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 72.

[135]The Śiva-Purâṇa, trans. by a Board of Scholars, ed. J. L. Shastri, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, vols. 1-4, 4 vols. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), 1:76. Cf., 1:91.

[136]Ibid., 1:329. Cf., 4:1630-31, where the sage Vyâsa visited the juncture of the Indus and the sea for ablutions and penance.

[137]Briggs, pp. 103-5, 109-10.

[138]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:279-81. Sîwistân (modern Sehwan) is a variation of Śivisthâna and Sibi of Śivi, both names reflecting Śaivite worship in the region. See Dey, pp. 187-88; Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Sibi--A Forgotten People of Sind," JASP 9 (June 1964): 13-17; Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Sehwân--Its History and Monuments," JPHS 10 (October 1962):312-30.

[139]N. G. Majumdar, Explorations in Sind, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 48 (Delhi: Government of India, 1934), pp. 9, 17, and plate 14. Śiva as wearer of skulls was particularly revered by the Kâpâlikas, a Pâśupata branch. See David N. Lorenzen, The Kâpâlikas and Kâlâmukhas: Two Lost Śaivite Sects (Berkely: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 80-81 et passim.

[140]A two foot high terracotta slab of Śiva and consort, several lingas, and a statue of Gaṇapati were found at Vijnot in Upper Sind, while several statues of Gaṇapati, Śiva and consort, and a Śaivite trident were uncovered at Brahmanâbâd. See Cousens, pp. 51, 56; B. R. Branfill, "Vijnot and Other Old Sites in N.E. Sindh," IA 11 (January 1882):1-9; Lieut.-Colonel Sykes, "Relics from the Buried City of Brahmunabad [sic] in Sind,"

Illustrated London News, 21 February 1857, pp. 166-67 (see fig. 14). Also note the finely carved ivory gaṇa (attendants of Śiva and Devî) found at Brahmanâbâd (Douglas Barrett, "A Group of Medieval Indian Ivories," Oriental Art, n.s., 1 [Summer 1955]: 47-50 and figs. 2-3).

141 Alain Daniélou, Hindu Polytheism, Bollingen Series, vol. 73 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), pp. 208-10.

142 Note the proto-Pâśupati seal of Śiva as "Lord of animals" found at Mohenjo-daro. See Sukumari Bhattacharji, The Indian Theogony: A Comparative Study of Indian Mythology from the "Vedas" to the "Purâṇas" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 112-15.

143 For a history of the sect in India see B. P. Karmarkar, "The Pâśupatas in Ancient India," Bharatiya Vidya 8 (1947):76-84; B. P. Majumdar, "Lakulîśa Pâśupatas and Their Temples in Medieval India," Journal of the Bihar Research Society 39 (1953):1-9; P. C. Divanji, "The Mâheśvara Cult and Its Offshoots," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay 30 (1955):6-22.

144 The following discussion of the ideology and rituals of the Pâśupata system is based primarily on Sâyaṇa-Mâdhava, pp. 8-32, and the Pâśupata Sûtram with the commentary of Kauṇḍinya. The sect has been studied by Lorenzen, pp. 173-92; Ramkrishna G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1913; reprint ed., Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1965), pp. 121-24; Pranabananda Jash, History of Śaivism (Calcutta: Roy and Chaudhury, 1974), pp. 35-60; Surendranath Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922-62), 5:1-10, 130-49.

145 Sâyaṇa, pp. 18-19, 24. See Lorenzen, pp. 190-91.

146 Ibid., p. 31. It was on these grounds that the Pâśupata were subjected to criticism by other Hindu schools: i.e., if God was not subject to karma, then men's actions were fruitless.

147 Chachnâmah, p. 41.

148 Lambrick, Sind before the Muslim Conquest, p. 164: "Here Chach declares himself a monotheist: though we are told that at Multan he prostrated himself before an idol and offered sacrifice. It appears that the Muslim author of the chronicle is so enthralled by Chach's career that at times he forgets that he was an infidel, and unconsciously attributes to him the outlook of a Muslim."

[149]As Dasgupta has pointed out about the Pâśupata system: "Here we have monotheism, but not monism or pantheism or panentheism" (5:142). Also note the observations of Vibhuti Bhushan Mishra, Religious Beliefs and Practices of North India during the Early Mediaeval Period, Handbuch der Orientalistik, vol. 2, no. 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 21.

[150]As Gardîzî (trans. Minorsky, p. 631) notes of this group: "He [their prophet] came and ordered them to worship the Creator, (saying): 'and also worship Mahâ-dev as God, may he be glorified and exalted', as whatever happens to them happens through him. They make idols in his likeness." A similar description is given by Shahrastânî, 2:256-57; Marwazî, text pp. 28-39, trans. p. 41; and Muṭahhar, 4:11-12. The Pâśupata are clearly intended since the practice of smearing the body with ashes (the major Pâśupata rite) is prominent in all the Muslim accounts. For a discussion of this material see Lawrence, pp. 162-70.

[151]Lawrence, p. 165. This, in many ways, confirms the reliability of Shahrastânî's source.

[152]Dasgupta, 5:130; Jash, p. 52.

[153]Shahrastânî, 2:256-57. Cf., Lawrence, pp. 47-49.

[154]Pâśupata Sûtram, pp. 52-53. See the chart given by Lorenzen, p. 186. It is the first two stages which give the system its unique characteristics; the last three stages are not as well defined.

[155]Ibid., pp. 56-58; Sâyaṇa, pp. 26-27. Cf., The Liṅga-Purâṇa, trans. by a Board of Scholars, ed. J. L. Shastri, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, vols. 5-6, 2 vols. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), 1:134; 2:586-87, 666-67.

[156]Pâśupata Sûtram, pp. 60-61; Sâyaṇa, pp. 26-27. According to Lorenzen (pp. 186-87), many Pâśupatas became renowned as experts in drama, music, and dance as a result of this aspect of their ritual. It is possible that the Chachnâmah (pp. 220-21) is referring to some of these practices when it notes that the Sammah caste greeted the Arabs with music and dance.

[157]Pâśupata Sûtram, pp. 128-34; Sâyaṇa, pp. 27-29.

[158]There are other parallels as well. Hercules, the patron saint of Cynicism, and Lakulîśa, the reputed founder of the Pâśupata, are both portrayed as carrying clubs and their

names are semantically and phonetically similar. For these and other parallels see Daniel H. H. Ingalls, "Cynics and Pâśupatas: The Seeking of Dishonor," Harvard Theological Review 55 (1962): 281-98.

[159]Note the observations on this point by Lorenzen, p. 187.

[160]Ingalls, p. 286, citing Kauṇḍinya.

[161]Lorenzen, p. 191, citing Sûtra verse 40.

[162]Sâyaṇa, pp. 30-31.

[163]Ibid., p. 19.

[164]Ibid., pp. 19-21; Pâśupata Sûtram, pp. 30-31. These are of two types: the power of perception and action. The first has five divisions: darśana, being able to see and touch all objects; śravana, hear all sounds; manana, know all thoughts; vijñâna, know all scripture; sarvajñatva, know all principles. The powers of action are three: manojavita, perform all actions instantaneously; kâmarûpitva, assume any form at will; vikaraṇa-dharmitva, act without physical organs. Perhaps the story in the Chachnâmah (p. 223) of the magical powers of a jôginî (Skt., yoginî) might reflect perceptions of the higher supernatural powers of the Pâśupata.

[165]Cousens, p. 55 and plate 14.

[166]Bhandarkar, pp. 151-55; Bhattacharji, pp. 226-28.

[167]Chachnâmah, pp. 37, 239. The restoration was suggested by S. H. Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, vol. 2: Supplement (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1957), p. 10. For Mitravana see Dey, p. 130; D. C. Sircar, Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971), pp. 249-50; V. C. Srivastava, Sun-Worship in Ancient India (Allahabad: Indological Publications, 1972), p. 267.

[168]A. M. Shastri, Bṛhatsaṁhitâ, pp. 139-42; Bhandarkar, pp. 153-54; Bhattacharji, pp. 227-28. Heinrich von Stietencron, Indische Sonnenpriester: Sâmba und die Śâkadvîpîya-Brâhmaṇa: Eine textkritische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie zum indischen Sonnenkult, Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 229-30, 279-80 et passim, has argued that the original Sâmbapura was not at Mûlasthâna since the former was on the Chenab River while the

latter was on the Ravi River at the time. Whatever may be the case of the earlier sun-temple, Multân was undoubtedly the site of the main Indian sun-temple at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit (2:274-75).

[169] A. M. Shastri, Bṛhatsaṁhitâ, pp. 140-41; Bîrûnî, 1:121.

[170] For the Maga Brahmins see Srivastava, pp. 244-52; Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab (from the Vedic Age up to the Maurya Period) (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964), pp. 248-49; Vasudeva Upadhyay, The Socio-Religious Condition of North India, 700-1200 A.D., Based on Archaeological Sources, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, vol. 39 (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1964), pp. 29-32.

[171] Hiuen Tsiang, 2:274-75 (Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu). This is the only detailed description of a sun-temple given by Hiuen Tsiang for greater India, underlining its importance.

[172] Chachnâmah, p. 240. The treasure found by the Arabs at Multân is said to have been deposited originally by a king of Kashmir named Jaswayn (ibid., pp. 239-40). The name is reminiscent of Jayasvâmin, the Kashmiri sun-god (Mishra, p. 36).

[173] Istakhrî, pp. 174-75; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:321; Ibn Rustah, pp. 135-37; Maqdisî, pp. 483-84. The best critical study of the Muslim sources on Multân is Yohanan Friedmann, "The Temple of Multan: A Note on Early Muslim Attitudes to Idolatry," Israel Oriental Studies 2 (1972):176-82. Also see S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Multan (as Described by Arab Writers)," Journal of Indian History, Golden Jubilee Volume, ed. T. K. Ravindran (Kerala: Department of History, University of Kerala, 1973), pp. 361-67; M. Abdullah Chaghtai, "The Ancient Temple At Multan," Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan 12 (January 1975):13-20; Ashiq Muhammad Khan, "Glimpses from the History of Multan," JPHS 28 (October 1980):249-56; B. D. Mirchandani, "Sun-Temple of Multan," JIH 46 (August 1968):209-16.

[174] Bîrûnî, 1:116.

[175] Shahrastânî, 2:258; Ibn al-Nadîm, 1:348; Gardîzî, trans. Minorsky, p. 637; Marwazî, text p. 33, trans. p. 45. While it has generally been assumed that the unnamed temple of the sun-worshippers mentioned by the Muslim sources was the famous temple at Multân, Bruce Lawrence (p. 196) has recently summed up the evidence and concluded that "it would be hasty, and probably inaccurate, to identify Mûltân as the tîrtha of the Âditya-bhaktas described in extant Muslim sources on Indian religions. Historical and textual evidence alike undermine such an identification." For the purposes of this study, it is

apparent that Multân was the main centre of sun-worship in Sind, regardless of whether or not it was the unnamed center of the Âditya-bhaktiyah of the Muslim sources. However, in passing, it should be noted that the evidence against such an identification is not totally convincing. Inter alia, Lawrence has based his conclusion on the grounds that of the pre-Shahrastânî Muslim authors only Bîrûnî actually associates the temple of Multân with sun-worship and, moreover, the Muslim sources on the Âditya-bhaktîyah emphasize the healing functions of the temple while nothing is said of the motives of those making the pilgrimage to Multân. In the first place, Bîrûnî's explicit statement (1:116) that the idol of Multân was named Âditya and dedicated to the sun is not easily dismissed since he actually resided in Multân for a period of time (1:211; 2:9) and hence was in a position to know. Secondly, Ibn Rustah (p. 137) and Marwazî (text p. 36, trans. p. 48) both relate the legend of the deity of the Multân temple descending from the sky (samâ'), suggesting a solar link, while the Chachnâmah (pp. 37, 239) explicitly makes the connection by calling the Multân temple Mitravana. Thirdly, Ibn Rustah, p. 137 (and Hiuen Tsiang, 2:274), does mention the healing qualities of the Multân temple. Moreover, it is not entirely correct to say (Lawrence, p. 195) that in the two Muslim sources which mention both the temple of Multân and the Âditya-bhaktîyah (Marwazî and Ibn al-Nadîm), the only similarity is that they both possessed estates and revenues. Marwazî (p. 45) indicates that the sun-idol of the Âditya-bhaktîyah was approached "with prostrations, circumambulations, (burning) perfumes and (playing) various instruments,' while the idol of Multân (pp. 48-49) was approached with circumambulations, perfumes, and the playing of "cymbals, drums and flutes" (also mentioned explicitly for Multân by Ibn Rustah, pp. 136-37, and Hiuen Tsiang, 2:274-75).

[176]Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 2:833. Cf., Gardîzî, trans. Minorsky, p. 637.

[177]Hiuen Tsiang, 2:274; She-Kia-Feng-Che, p. 120; Ibn Rustah, p. 137.

[178]Cited by Buddha Prakash, "The Genesis and Character of Landed Aristocracy in Ancient India," JESHO 14 (August 1971): 205-6.

[179]Cousens, p. 10 and plate 2; Jitendra Nath Banerjea, Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956), p. 518 and plate 45; T. A. Gopintha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Madras: Law Printing House, 1914-16; reprint ed., New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968), 2:509-10 and plate 148.

[180]Mishra, pp. 31-32.

[181]Richard F. Burton, Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus (London: W. H. Allen, 1851; reprint ed., Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 326-34; G. E. L. Carter, "Religion in Sind," IA 46 (September 1917):205-8; 47 (August 1918):197-208; L. H. Ajwani, History of Sindhi Literature (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1970), pp. 19-42; U. T. Thakur, Sindhi Culture, University of Bombay Publications, Sociology Series, no. 9 (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1959), pp. 19-21, 123-34; Yusuf Husain, L'Inde mystique au moyen âge: hindous et musulmans (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1929), pp. 15-35.

[182]The legend is recounted in chapter 2 of C. A. Kincaid, Folk Tales of Sind and Guzarat (Karachi: Daily Gazette Press, 1925). Also see Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, comp. E. H. Aitken, 8 vols. (Karachi: Government of India, 1907-26), A vol.: General, pp. 165-66.

[183]Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "An Early Arabic Version of the Mahabharata Story from Sindh, and Old Sindhi Literature and Culture," Indo-Asian Culture 7 (July 1958):70.

[184]A. S. Altekar, "Six Saindhava Copper-Plate Grants from Ghumli," EpI 26 (1941-42):188. See Daniélou, p. 120, for the fish emblem of Varuṇa.

CHAPTER III

CONQUEST AND CONVERSION

Introduction

Nowhere in recent times has the polemical debate over Arab Sind been more rancorous and sustained than in the dual questions of conquest and conversion. Basically, the argument has been reduced to a question of the methods utilized by the Arab Muslims in the conquest and conversion of Sind. Two antagonistic perspectives have emerged from which there is very little deviation: the early British administrator-historian and Indian nationalist view that both conquest and conversion took place either solely or primarily by the sword; the Indian Muslim modernist and Pakistan nationalist view that the conquest was largely and the conversion wholly peaceful.[1] Both perspectives are based on a mutually exclusive and antipathetic perception of what the religion Islam is, and both are, moreover, informed by contemporary considerations: the British historians, like Elliot and Cousens, generally comparing the religious policies of the Arabs in Sind with those of the British to the discomfort of the former; the Indian nationalists perceiving the Arab conquest as only the first in a long and sustained Muslim onslaught which, when followed by the British occupation, resulted in keeping the native Indians from developing the social and economic promise

inherent in the Gupta period; the modern Indian Muslim and Pakistan nationalist reading the Arab conquest as representing the best of pristine Islam which, in contrast to the perceived less-Muslim Turkish conquests, could form a paradigm for modern Muslim behaviour in India. Unfortunately, recent historians have not yet succeeded in removing the topic from its polemical trappings, and this has compromised the objective study of conversion processes in Arab Sind.

Coersive conversion. The view that conversion in Arab Sind was necessarily forced conversion as a direct consequence of the militant nature of Islam was expounded at length by H. M. Elliot who translated (or had translated for him) the various histories of Sind bearing on the Arab period.[2] His translations have generally been used and his observations and conclusions accepted as proven by later historians who did not have access to the languages of the original texts.[3] This is unfortunate since Elliot's perception of Islam as a religion of "terror and devastation, murder and rapine"[4] informs his discussion of conversion processes in Sind. The Arab Muslims of Sind are characterized variously as "ruthless bigots,"[5] "furious zealots,"[6] and "indolent and effeminate voluptuaries"[7] united simply "by a common tie of fraternity in rapine and propagandism."[8] They undertook the conquest of Sind in the pursuit of "plunder and proselytism"[9] and were able to enforce their perspectives through "the rack and the threat of circumcision."[10]

In addition to the simple inducements of terror, torture,

and circumcision, Elliot isolates two other means of conversion in Arab Sind: the harsh taxation of non-Muslims and the lack of justice provided them in the Muslim judicial system. In the first case, he argues that the poll-tax (jizyah) levied on non-Muslims resulted in wholesale conversions not simply due to the distinguishing nature of the tax, but because it was "always exacted with rigour and punctuality, and frequently with insult."[11] Secondly, he makes the allegation that the Muslim "public tribunals," by which he seems to mean the courts of the qâḍîs, were "only the means of extortion and forcible conversion,"[12] presumably since, in his view, non-Muslims would have been unable to obtain equal justice in these courts. In both these cases, it should be pointed out, Elliot does not draw support for his contentions from the primary sources. The suggestion that the qâḍîs' courts were extortionist to non-Muslims is based on British travelogues referring to Sind at the time of the British conquest, over a millennium after the arrival of the Arabs. Nor is there any evidence that the Arab Muslims of Sind were particularly abusive or rigid in the collection of the jizyah. Indeed, as we shall see, Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim provided means by which the non-Muslims could protest the tax-assessment if they felt it was excessive.[13]

In focussing on justice and taxation, Elliot is clearly concerned with comparing Arab and British policies in Sind. He concludes his analysis of the lack of regularized justice provided to non-Muslims in Arab Sind by making the comparison explicit:

> It is expedient that these matters should be often brought back to remembrance and pondered on; for the inhabitants of modern India . . . . are very apt to forget the very depth of degradation from which the great mass of the people have been raised, under the protection of British supremacy.[14]

Pursuing this comparison, actual examples of religious toleration on the part of the Arabs in Sind are explained away as not being a result of rational principles of justice or humanity (as in the British case), but simply because the Arabs had no other choice due to their numerical inferiority. Where the Arab Muslims had the ability, according to Elliot, "the usual bigotry and cruelty were displayed."[15]

Early archaeologists and historians working in Sind shared Elliot's perceptions of the violent and coercive nature of Muslim relations with non-Muslims in Arab Sind. If a Buddhist site was discovered in ruins or fragments of Buddhist sculpture were uncovered, it was assumed to be in that state due to Arab Muslim iconoclasts (notwithstanding the fact that Buddhist sites are in ruins throughout India);[16] if a stûpa did not possess a relic casket (few in India do), it was because the Muslims either plundered it or the Buddhist monks removed the relics to protect them from potential plunder.[17] As recently as 1929, the archaeologist Daya Ram Sahni could write of the "countless Brahmanical and Buddhist religious buildings"[18] which were destroyed in Sind by Muhammad b. al-Qâsim. As with Elliot, it was not thought necessary to prove any of these assertions; it was taken as given that the Arab Muslims, being Muslim, were fanatically anti-Hindu and anti-Buddhist.[19]

Elliot's view of Islam in Arab Sind was taken and expanded

on by the missionary Murray Titus in a terse anti-Muslim treatise of considerable influence.[20] Originally written as a Ph.D. dissertation at Hartford Seminary Foundation and revised in 1959, it purports to discuss conversion in India solely from Muslim sources (generally via Elliot's translations) and "without bias and prejudice."[21] Titus has reduced the many complex factors initially leading the Arabs to invade Sind to the single religious motive "of striking a blow at idolatry and polytheism, and of establishing Islam."[22] Not surprisingly, given this simple view of motivation, he maintains that the Arab Muslims brought with them to Sind "a spirit of intolerance and wild fanatical zeal"[23] and that this informed their relationships with non-Muslims in all particulars and necessarily coerced conversions.

Unlike Elliot, who is willing to admit some religious tolerance among the Arabs in Sind (albeit due to weakness), Titus sees the Arab Muslims as providing a precedent through their actions in Sind for a militant religious intolerance which was subsequently observed by later Indian Muslims.[24] He attempts to prove Arab religious intolerance (and hence forced conversions) through an appeal to Arab military policy: for example, the Arab killing of indigenes in various battles in Sind is taken as evidence of Arab intolerance in religious matters.[25] In addition, the examples he gives of actual Arab religious coercion in Sind are highly suspect. Writing of the initial Arab conquest of the city of Daybul, he observes:

> Muḥammad b. Quâsim's [sic] first act of religious zeal was forcibly to circumcise the Brâhmans of the captured city

> of Debul; but, on discovering that they objected to this sort of conversion, he then proceeded to put all above the age of seventeen to death, and to order all others, with women and children, to be led into slavery.[26]

While Titus does not give a source for this supposed mass circumcision and conversion at Daybul, none of the primary sources consulted for this study refer to it and, moreover, it is highly unlikely.[27] We are also told that Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim not only destroyed temples and desecrated idols, but that he did so "systematically" and with "malignity."[28] Again, this assertion is totally unsupported by the primary sources on Sind. When faced with the report in the Chachnâmah that the Thaqafite commander permitted the non-Muslims to rebuild their temples, Titus comments, significantly, that this was only after the Arabs had already destroyed them.[29] Clearly, Titus' perception of Islam as the "church militant,"[30] as he puts it, has influenced his reading and revision of the source material.

The Indian nationalist school of historiography has generally accepted without question the premise that conversion in Sind was due to Arab coercion. R. C. Majumdar, the major exponent of this viewpoint, argues from his perception that the religion of Islam in its normative strictures "regarded all non-Muslims as its enemies, to curb whose growth in power and number was conceived to be its main interest. The ideal preached by even high officials was to exterminate them totally."[31] Given this view of Islam, it is understandable that he would conclude that the conversion of the non-Muslims of Sind "was mainly due to the policy of humiliation and terrorization, deliberately

adopted by the Muslim conquerors towards the non-Muslims."[32] Majumdar sees this first contact between Muslims and non-Muslims in Arab Sind as ominous since, like Titus, he believes that the religious policy of the Thaqafites established a consistent intolerant precedent governing subsequent generations of Muslims in India.[33]

There is some disagreement among Indian nationalists over the effects and duration of coercive conversion in Sind. Majumdar has argued that conversion in Sind, since forced, was necessarily ephemeral: "The new faith which they were forced or induced to accept sat very lightly on them."[34] Hence, he concludes, those Hindus and Buddhists who had been coerced into becoming Muslim by the sword of conquest (he equates conquest and conversion) took the first available opportunity to apostatize and by A.D. 750 "Islam lost its footing in Sind."[35] On the other hand, C. V. Vaidya equates becoming Muslim with becoming foreign and thus concludes that the conquest of Sind and the conversion of its peoples led to the permanent enslavement of the region.[36] A variation of this theme is particularly prominent in recent writings of Hindu Sindîs residing in India who argue that the forced conversion of Sindîs to Islam brought about what L. H. Ajwani calls "a period of almost progressive degeneration."[37] It is alleged that the Arab Muslims who came to Sind brought with them "no constitutional doctrine, no higher culture and no superior art or language."[38] Hence, there could have been no natural non-coercive attraction to an uncivilized culture and religion and, moreover, those who were subsequently

forced by the sword to convert must have experienced cultural degeneration along with their change in religion.[39] There is an implicit assumption in these arguments not only about what Arab Islam was but that those non-Muslims of Sind who converted had accepted this posited version of Islam without any regional variations.

Recently, a somewhat more sophisticated variation of the militant conversion thesis has become current. This version initially emerged as a corrective to secondary accounts attempting to explain the defeat of the North Indian states in the early sultanate period. Proponents of this view generally link together the early Arab raids on Mukrân, the Thaqafite conquest of Sind, the various Ghaznavid raids, and the Ghûrid conquest in order to demonstrate both the continuity of Islamic aggression on India and its slow progress due to what is thought of as Hindu resistance.[40] Just as Elliot and Titus had earlier argued that the Arabs were driven by their religious beliefs to invade Sind and convert its people, the slow progress adherents argue that the religion of Islam impelled the Arabs, once they had conquered Sind, to invade India and convert its people.[41] That the Arabs failed in this mission is thought to have been due to the strength of Hindu resistance, "the like of which the Arabs had never before encountered in their wars of aggressive conquests in the three continents of the world."[42] The idea that emerges is that Muslims, whether Arab, Persian, Turk, or Afghan, always had expansive conversionist designs on Sind and India. They just patiently bided

their time, waiting for internal dissensions to appear, biting off a little territory here and there, finally to sweep across North India when the Gurjara-Pratîhâra confederation broke up.

Unfortunately, this theory reifies both Hinduism and Islam to an unwarranted and unworkable extent. It is difficult to see the rationale of considering all raids on Sind and India by Muslim peoples from the first century A.H. up to the Ghûrids as part of one inexorable onslaught with a single motive: to conquer India in order to convert non-Muslims.[43] Surely the methods and motives of the raids on Sind undertaken during the caliphate of ᶜUthmân (23-35/644-56) need to be carefully distinguished from those of either al-Ḥajjâj (75-95/694-713) or Maḥmûd Ghaznavî (388-421/998-1031). The reduction of Islam to a single dimension over such a long period of time disguises the very real differences between the various states and peoples that happened to be Muslim in their religion. For example, Arab Sind, a Muslim state, responded to the invasion of the Muslim forces of Maḥmûd Ghaznavî by entering into alliances with certain surrounding Hindu states.[44] To judge from their actions, it is unlikely that they perceived anything particularly "Islamic" in Maḥmûd's raids on Muslim Sind, or anything "non-Islamic" in being allied with states whose rulers and people were Hindu. Furthermore, it is unclear why the many diverse peoples, states, and religions of India itself should be lumped into a single grouping as evidencing "Hindu" resistance over six centuries. Various Indian states resisted various Muslim raids, and undertook raids and treaties of their own against both Muslim and

Indian states.[45] The resistance of the Indian states can be termed "Hindu" only in the limited sense that the religion of the majority of the people and rulers of these regions was probably Hinduism.[46]

In addition, there is a certain degree of confusion and inconsistency in the use of the primary material employed to support this position. Sanskrit terms, occurring in epigraphs,[47] are read as meaning the Arab Muslims of Sind in all cases: tâjika ("Persian"),[48] mleccha ("non-Aryan"),[49] turuṣka ("Turk"),[50] yavana ("Greek").[51] The identification is assumed without confirmation that Arab Muslims are intended by the epigraphs or, if this is likely, whether or not they are the Muslims of Arab Sind. The term tâjika, for example, could apply equally to the large Arab settlements in Sandân and Ṣaymûr and not to the Arabs of Sind.[52] All the other terms are ambiguous and may or may not refer to the Arab Muslims of Sind; in many cases, they clearly do not.[53]

The attempt to intermesh the Arabic and Sanskrit material has also not been successful. For example, it is universally assumed that the Nausari Plates refer to Pulakeśin's defeat of al-Junayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân al-Murrî.[54] However, since the event described by the inscription must have taken place between A.D. 731 and 738,[55] it could not have been al-Junayd who was involved (governor of Sind from 104/722 to 110/728).[56] If the inscription refers to the defeat of an Arab raid (and it probably does), then it was more likely that of al-Ḥakam b. ᶜAwânah al-Kalbî who, according to Yaᶜqûbî, died around the year 120/737

while raiding an unnamed region of India.[57]

The drawbacks of this approach are particularly evidenced in a recent article by J. F. Richards who has attempted to put the argument on a more historical basis by quantifying the early military clashes between Muslims and Hindus (i.e., Indian states) in order to show that "the continuity of resistance can be readily demonstrated."[58] He also appears to accept the view that the Arab advances into Sind and India were part of a general Arab Muslim religious policy towards the Hindus of the subcontinent.[59] A close examination of his data, however, reveals the hazards of making such claims without reference to the primary sources. He lists twenty-two separate military clashes pertaining to Arab Sind;[60] of these, less than ten are likely to have occurred, even accepting that the <u>turuṣkas</u> (Turks) of the inscriptions always refer to the Arab Muslims of Sind, which is unlikely.[61] The remainder of his examples are either conflicts not attested to by the primary sources (e.g., Abû Turâb) or multiplications of single incidents (e.g., al-Junayd's raid on India is listed as five different events, the last occurring seventeen years after his death in Khurâsân and twenty years after his departure from Sind).[62] It is clear that the Muslim "drive to India," extending over six centuries, is not so readily demonstrated as Richards suggests.[63]

<u>Voluntary conversion</u>. Thomas W. Arnold, writing in Aligarh in 1896, was one of the first British historians to respond to the coercive conversion argument. While he was primarily inter-

ested in other places and times, he did briefly note the policies of religious toleration established by the Arabs in Sind which, in his view, resulted in conversions being "in the main voluntary."[64] Muslim historians when they have engaged the issue, admittedly infrequently, have generally followed a voluntary conversion perspective. Like the proponents of coercive conversion, they have focussed on the methods of the Arab conquest; but, in sharp contrast to the former, they have tended to emphasize the peaceful and liberal polices of Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim, their modernity, and contrast these with the policies of later Muslim invaders of India.[65] Mohammad Habib, a Muslim and an Indian nationalist, compares at length the policies of Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim with those of the Turko-Afghans, reaching the conclusion that the former were truly Islamic (liberal, generous, and tolerant of all religions) while the latter were non-Islamic (illiberal, ignoble, and intolerant): "Alone among the many Muslim invaders of India Muhammad Qâsim is a character of whom a conscientious Mussalman need not be ashamed."[66] While Habib does not offer an explicit theory of conversion for Sind, one can conclude from his analysis that since religious freedom was allowed by the Arabs, what conversion took place must have been voluntary.[67]

Accepting the premise that conversions in Sind were voluntary, Muslim historians have tended to focus their interest on why conversions took place. That is, if one accepts the view that conversion was not coerced, then an explanation for conversion is still required. For the most part, their arguments have

issued from perceptions of the nature of Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism. This takes various forms. Moulvi Syed Sahib Hashimi, convinced of the importance of exemplary biography, has no doubts that it was the "praiseworthy conduct" of the Arab Muslims which caused the Sindî non-Muslims to have "embraced Islam in flocks."[68] At the time of the Arab conquest, the non-Muslims of Sind consisted of, in his view, "many nomadic savage tribes, who lived by plunder and were akin to beasts in their mode of life."[69] Yet after conversion to Islam, "those very savages and barbarians appear to have become civilized citizens."[70] His argument seems to be that Sindîs converted to Islam because it was a superior civilizational complex which the non-Muslims were able to recognize through the behaviour of the Arab Muslims. This general position has recently (1980) been echoed by Ashiq Durrani who notes that "Islam came as a blessing, as it helped to free themselves [non-Muslims] from the shackles of perpetual hatred and ignomy. Brave, honest, just and scruplous [sic] charcter [sic] of the Muslims attracted the local people."[71] The argument is basically the same, although reverse, of that previously observed among recent Hindu Sindî historians.[72] Like Thakur and Ajwani for the opposing view, neither Hashimi nor Durrani have presented evidence to support their position on the vitiated nature of the non-Muslim religions of Sind or that biographical considerations resulted in conversions. Their arguments are unlikely to convince anyone who does not share their preconceptions.

The superior religion perspective also informs the account of M. A. Ghani who isolates three factors leading to conversion:

> The people were profoundly impressed with the purity of their [Arab Muslim] living, their zeal for the new faith and the principle of world-wide brotherhood which they preached. This striking feature attracted many an Indian to Islam at once. An idea of the conversion to Islam can be had if we are told that over fifty thousand people were received into the Islamic fold every year.[73]

Ghani focuses on the equality principle in Islam as being particularly attractive to lower caste Hindus who, by converting, would be able to escape the inequities of the caste system. More recently, N. A. Baloch has argued that it was "the supremacy of justice and equality of all before the law of Islam" which led the "overwhelming majority" of Sindîs to accept Islam "within a few decades."[74] The argument rests on the assumption that conversion would appeal to lower caste Hindus since the Arabs of Sind, being Muslim, would have operated under the premise of the equality of the community (<u>ummah</u>) of all Muslims, regardless of race or caste. However, neither of these scholars have brought forth evidence to prove that the Arab Muslims actually operated under such a policy while in Sind. Indeed, what evidence is available would seem to suggest that Muslim institutions in Sind served partially to legitimize and continue caste inequities.[75]

Among the few recent Muslim historians writing of Arab Sind, I. H. Qureshi has offered the most detailed exposition of the voluntary conversion hypothesis.[76] Rejecting the possibility of overt Arab pressure, he believes that the conversion of the non-Muslims of Sind can best be understood with reference to the fundamental nature of Buddhism and Hinduism at the time of the conquest. Adopting the argument from religion, he suggests:

> In its struggle with Hinduism, Buddhism had started by making fundamental concessions to the former, and when a religion does that for too long, it is liable to lose its moral stamina and power of resistance. This explains both the many conversions to Islam in this area and the eventual disappearance of Buddhism. Besides, to many Islam appeared as a deliverer from the tyranny of Hinduism and the example of tolerance set by the Arabs seems to have inclined many a Buddhist heart towards Islam.[77]

The latter part of the argument is a variation of the superior religion perspective: conversion proceeded via the indigene's rational comparison of the relative virtues of Hinduism and Islam. In this case, Qureshi assumes, the Buddhist would have perceived Islam as more tolerant than Hinduism and converted on that basis.

It is, however, the first part of his analysis which has more interest. Qureshi contends that Sindî Buddhism was Mahâyânist at the time of the Arab conquest and that, since this school resembled Hinduism in its essential tenets, its presence in Sind indicates that Buddhism had become "corroded from within by the infiltration of Hindu beliefs and practices."[78] This had important consequences for Buddhism in Sind. After all, he argues:

> Loyalties which are based upon sentimental attachment alone can be easily undermined by persistent missionary activity. The existence of a large number of Buddhists mostly ignorant of their religion gave a good opportunity to the Muslims.[79]

That is, Buddhism in Sind became too Hinduized, and, hence, Buddhists became alienated from their own original belief system, of which they were largely "ignorant" and to which there remained only "sentimental" attachments. As a direct result, Buddhists were readily attracted to Islam by the religious toleration of the Arab Muslims.

Unfortunately, Qureshi's analysis will not stand up to close scrutiny. As previously noted, Sindî Buddhists belonged predominantly to the Theravâda school of the Sammitîya, not to the Mahâyâna.[80] While they may have made some compromises with Hinduism, there is simply no evidence that they had become "ignorant" of the tenets of their religion or that their beliefs were solely "sentimental." On the contrary, a close reading of the Chachnâmah, the source for Qureshi's charges, suggests that the Sindî Buddhists had a deep and literate appreciation of their religion.[81] Nor is it clear that the Buddhists perceived Islam as a "deliverer from the tyranny of Hinduism," as Qureshi puts it, although they were certainly antagonistic to the government of the Brahmin Chach who was a Hindu. They may have seen the Arabs (not necessarily Islam) as an aid in their struggle with Chach or Dâhir (not necessarily Hinduism), but this is quite a different matter.

In addition, Qureshi has frequently erred in his reading of the primary source material. He argues, for example, that when ᶜUmar II invited the Sindî princes to accept Islam, "the larger number of converts came from Buddhism."[82] In fact, the only individuals actually known to have converted at this time are Jaysîyah b. Dâhir and possibly his brother Ṣaṣṣah, both indisputably Brahmin and Hindu.[83] This is not an isolated example: the main temple at Multân was Hindu not Buddhist;[84] Chandar b. Sîlâ'ij was a Brahmin priest of Arôr not "a pious Buddhist";[85] the temple of Daybul was Pâśupata Hindu not a Buddhist stûpa;[86] the individual who assisted the Arabs at

Daybul was a Brahmin named either Qiblah b. Mahatrâ'ij or Sûd-dêv not a Buddhist.[87] Qureshi's reading of the dynamics of conversion in Sind would appear to be based less on the primary sources than on his perceptions of the nature of Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

<u>Explanations of conversion</u>. While recent historians writing on Sind may differ on whether conversion was coerced or not, they do share certain basic elements. First, Arab military policy is generally confounded with Arab religious policy, reducing the subject of conversion to an argument over the methods of conquest. And since the data on the Arab conquest are amenable to various interpretations, both coercive and non-coercive arguments are found here. On the one hand, where soldiers (who happen to be Hindu) are killed in the course of the Arab conquest of Sind, this is taken as evidence for Muslim militancy and intransigence in religious matters; conversely, where soldiers (who happen to be Muslim) spare the lives of individuals (who happen to be Buddhist or Hind) or take a town of such non-Muslims without loss of life, this is taken as evidence for a liberal Muslim religious policy. If the argument takes the first route, then the conclusion is that conversion was necessarily coerced; if the latter, then non-coerced.

Secondly, a reified perception of the fundamental nature of Islam in particular, but also of Hinduism and Buddhism--generally reflecting recent polemical debates in the Indian subcontinent--informs the various discussions of conversion in

Sind. On the one extreme, the argument from religion has maintained that due to certain ideological strictures in normative Islam, the Arab Muslims were compelled by way of religious duty to invade Sind and force the conversion of its peoples. That is, the Arab Muslims are perceived as coercing conversions simply because they were Muslim. On the other extreme, the argument from religion has maintained that the original normative strictures of pristine Islam required the Arab Muslims by way of religious duty to respect and safeguard the religious beliefs and rituals of Sindî non-Muslims. This latter argument also implies a perspective of normative Hinduism and Buddhism which would necessarily be unappealing to the indigenes in comparison to the vitality and equality of the posited pristine Islam. That is, Hindus and Buddhists in Sind converted by rationally comparing the advantages of Islam to their own defective religious systems. In both cases, general observations concerning these religions are taken as given, and then applied to the specific situation in Arab Sind, with little or no regard to the actual data. As a result, both of these reified arguments from religion fall short of providing credible explanations for the conversion of Sindîs.

On a methodological level, scholars have shown a tendency to misread, distort, or even constitute evidence in pursuit of their convictions. Thus, we find the observation that, on the one hand, Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim forcibly circumcised the Hindus of Daybul or, on the other, that he forbade the slaughter of cows out of respect for Hinduism. Neither of

these incidents can be located in the primary sources. In addition, many of the secondary sources make the fundamental error of reading back into Arab Sind information belonging to a much later period. Thus, for example, Elliot's sources for his observation that Islamic courts in Arab Sind led to forced conversions are all British sources for early nineteenth century Tâlpûr Sind.[88] The only apparent common ground shared by the Arabs and the Tâlpûrs is that they were both Muslim groups who formed dynasties in Sind. No thought is given to the possibility that the policies of the Balûchî Tâlpûrs towards the Hindus of Sind were not necessarily the same as that of the Arabs some thousand years earlier. Unfortunately, the doubtful conclusions based on these tainted sources have been repeated by subsequent historians without questioning the basis on which they were originally formulated. And this obviously will not do.

Terminology and method. The vast majority of recent work on conversion to Islam, both in Sind and elsewhere, has not been concerned with defining terms of reference.[89] This is regrettable since the term conversion has developed in a Western, Christian context where it has been used to describe two different sets of phenomena: the change in religious allegiance of an individual or a group from one system of belief or rituals to another; the qualitative change in religious experience within a belief system.[90] In this chapter, the term is being used in the first sense, although the focus is primarily on the group and not the individual. Moreover, the

definition utilized here does not contain a component of sudden or radical change in root religious beliefs on the part of the convert or convert group, as is customary in definitions which issue from a Christian context.[91] It is quite possible, indeed likely, that the convert initially had a perception of Islam or of conversion to Islam at considerable odds with the literate Arab Muslim definitions of textual Islam.[92] When a type of conversion is distinguished as coerced or forced, it accords with Peter Hardy's clearly stated definition:

> The offering a man (or woman) the prospect of death, pain or imprisonment which he or she can only escape, should he or she wish to do so, by the performance of acts with a symbolic significance, acts which he or she would not otherwise perform but for the prospect thus offered.[93]

Hardy's formulation has the advantages of being testable and avoiding the confounding of Arab military and religious policies.

Conversion should be contrasted with Islamization. The latter term is utilized in this chapter with reference to the movement of the belief system of a convert or a group of converts to the belief system of some form of pan-Islamic textual Islam.[94] In this sense, it is somewhat equivalent, in an Islamic context, to Srinivasa's concept of Sanskritization, rid of its caste corollary and seen simply as the movement of the belief system of an individual or a group from a "little" to a "great" tradition.[95] As a result, two levels to the conversion process are posited: initial conversion, which entails various and possibly conflicting perceptions of what is taking place; and subsequent Islamization, which does contain a conformative and qualitative dimension. In my view, these are two different sets

of phenomena, and it is useful to distinguish them. The opposite process--i.e., the movement from a "great" to a "little" tradition within Sind--is termed indigenization.[96]

This simple definition of conversion allows for, but does not necessarily include, the possibility of adhesion: i.e., the adding on of another system of beliefs or rituals to an individual's or a group's previous system.[97] Conversion may or may not include adhesion; Islamization definitely does not. Adhesion is not syncretism, by which is meant the fusion of two or more systems of belief or ritual to form a new unified and harmonious system.[98] Syncretism has not been used simply for the interpenetrations of two or more systems of belief, unless they resulted in a new synthesis. I have chosen to use the above terms restrictively in order to distinguish between discrete phenomena and draw sharper contrasts in the analysis.

It is easy to empathize with the difficulties facing those historians who have turned their attention to the topic of conversion in Sind. There are, after all, formidable obstacles in the way of understanding the various processes involved. As Ira Lapidus has observed:

> The history of conversion to Islam, in Egypt or elsewhere, remains a surprisingly obscure subject on which Arab sources almost never comment. . . . In any case, their silence means that we can reconstruct the course of conversions only from indirect evidence.[99]

What Professor Lapidus notes of Egypt is also true of Sind: the Arabic and Persian sources are simply not concerned with the topic of conversion to Islam. Not only are there very few

incidents of conversion reported, but the chronicles are primarily interested in the mechanics of the initial Thaqafite conquest of Sind and not with subsequent events, when one would expect the majority of conversions to take place. As a result, the topic must be approached in a rather circuitous manner, using what indirect data are available in the sources.

The analysis proceeds as follows. Arab policies towards the indigenes of Sind will first be considered, in order to establish the precise situation facing members of the two non-Muslim religions. Arab military and religious policies have been differentiated wherever possible, without, however, discounting the possibility of cognitive confusion on the part of the participants in these events. This chapter is concerned only with Arab policies in Sind up to the establishment of the Ismâ^cîlî states in the middle of the fourth/tenth century. The religious policies of the Ismâ^cîlîs and conversion to their perspective by other Muslims and by non-Muslims will be discussed separately in the penultimate chapter of this thesis.

The majority of attention will be directed to the results, both direct and indirect, of the Arab Muslim conquest and settlement, in terms of the two non-Muslim religions represented in the region. The non-Muslims of Sind were not a single <u>tabula rasa</u> on which the Arab Muslims made their indelible and unvarying imprint. There were two fundamentally different religions in Sind, each with a distinct set of beliefs and rituals, class composition, and socio-economic basis. Members of these religions adopted dissimilar stances towards the initial Arab con-

quest and were affected diversely in the altered circumstances of the Arab settlement. For the understanding of the processes involved in this differential response, I have had recourse to certain concepts drawn from stress theory, especially the idea of relative deprivation, and reference group theory, in particular the distinction between normative and comparative reference groups.[100] It is hoped that, by so doing, justice can be done to the very complicated conversion situation in Arab Sind.

Arab Policies in Sind

Military policy. While it is often thought that Arab military policy in Sind was inconsistent, at times entailing massacres and at times peaceful settlements, this is not entirely the case.[101] The results of Arab policy were variable, it is true, but the policy itself was remarkably consistent throughout the initial conquest, at least after Daybul. The general policy is outlined in a letter of al-Ḥajjâj, the Umayyad governor of ᶜIrâq, which was applied throughout Sind (bar ḥukm-i mithâl-i Ḥajjâj):

> My ruling is given: Kill anyone belonging to the combatants (ahl-i ḥarb); arrest their sons and daughters for hostages and imprison them. Whoever submits . . . grant them amân and settle their tribute (amwâl) as dhimmah.[102]

It is apparent that the Sindîs themselves were aware of this policy. At the time of the siege of the city of Brahmanâbâd, four of the leading merchants of the area met to review the situation facing them:

> If we unite and go forth to fight, we will be killed: for even if peace is [subsequently] made, those who are com-

batants (ahl-i silâḥ) will all be put to death. As for the rest of the people, amân is given to the merchants, artisans, and agriculturalists. It is better that we be trusted. Therefore, we should surrender the fort to him on the basis of a secure covenant (ᶜahd-i wathîq).[103]

That is, Sindîs, regardless of their religious affiliation, had two options available to them at the time of the Arab conquest: to submit or not to submit to Arab authority. If they submitted, they received amân ("protection") or an ᶜahd ("covenant");[104] if they did not submit, they were attacked and, if defeated, the combatants were liable to the death penalty and their families to imprisonment. In short, the Arab response was dependent on whether the city or region was taken by force (ᶜanwatan) or by treaty (ṣulḥ).[105]

The Arabs' first concern was to facilitate the conquest of Sind with the least number of Arab casualties, while at the same time preserving the economic infrastructure of the area. Hence, where Sindî resistance was intensive or prolonged, the Arab response was equally intensive: a massacre lasting three days occurred at Daybul; 6,000 combatants were killed at Râwar; somewhere between 6,000 and 26,000 at Brahmanâbâd; 4,000 at Iskalandah; and 6,000 at Multân.[106] All of these towns were conquered by force (ᶜanwatan) with considerable Arab casualties. Conversely, a number of places were taken by treaty (ṣulḥ) and experienced few if any casualties, either Arab or Sindî: e.g., Armâbîl, Nîrûn, Sîwistân, Budhîyah, Bêt, Sâwandî, and Arôr.[107] In both cases, however, the Arab concern with securing a financially viable Sind impelled them to exempt artisans, merchants, and agriculturalists.[108]

The policy of granting amân was applied throughout Sind only after the massacre at Daybul. "If any of the people of Sind request amân, grant it," wrote al-Ḥajjâj to Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim, "as for the people of Daybul, do not grant amân to any of them."[109] Even in this extreme case, however, Muḥammad chose to bestow amân on certain individuals and groups of the city.[110] Indeed, it would appear to have been his preferred mode of conquest throughout the campaign. Of the towns and tribes for which there is information, 65 percent according to the Chachnâmah or 63 percent according to Balâdhurî were secured through amân or ṣulḥ.[111] This is a surprisingly high percentage, at some variance to accounts of the Arab conquest in other regions (ranging from 8 percent in Egypt to 36 percent in Syria).[112]

Al-Ḥajjâj, who felt that amân should issue from strength and not weakness, was quick to criticize Muḥammad's broad application of amân in two acerbic letters:

> I am appalled by your bad judgement and astounded by your policies. Why are you so intent on giving amân, even to an enemy whom you have tested and found hostile and intransigent? It is not necessary to give amân to everyone without discrimination. . . . In any case, if [the Sindîs] sincerely request amân and desist from treachery, they will surely stop fighting. Then income will meet expenditures and this long situation will be concluded.[113]

In another letter, written after the conquest of Râwar (to be distinguished from Arôr or al-Rûr), al-Ḥajjâj observed: "It is acknowledged that all your procedures have been in accordance with religious law (bar jâdah-yi shar^c) except for the one practice of giving amân. For you are giving amân to everyone without distinguishing between friend and foe."[114] Muḥammad's --

officers must have shared his preference for conquest by treaty since al-Ḥajjâj complained, in his first letter, that "the same thing is said of your secretary and officers."[115]

While Muḥammad and his cousin al-Ḥajjâj may have disagreed over who should receive amân, they were in agreement that once given, it was binding, even if the individual had obtained it fraudulently. One such claim is said to have occurred after the conquest of Arôr when a Brahmin, a combatant, received an ᶜahd in writing for himself, his family, and his large entourage on the basis of misrepresentation.[116] Muḥammad initially wanted to revoke the amân, but decided against it since "words are words and a contract is a contract."[117] He imprisoned the Brahmin and referred the question back to al-Ḥajjâj who, in turn, received a ruling from the ᶜulamâ' of Kûfah and Baṣrah to the effect that "this question has been raised previously among the Companions of the Prophet, on whom be peace [and was resolved by the Qur'ânic words]: 'Men are true to what they have covenanted with God."[118] While the details of this particular incident may be spurious, it is clear that the surety and consistency of amân and ᶜahd were matters of considerable importance to the Arabs. The binding nature of treaties and covenants, stemming from the pre-Islamic practice of jiwâr and enshrined in the Qur'ân, was taken very seriously for internal reasons.[119] It certainly facilitated the conquest of Sind, forming the expressed rationale for the capitulation of groups from Sîwistân, Brahmanâbâd, and Arôr.[120] If the Arab treaties could be trusted, then the indigenes would clearly have less interest in resisting

the conquest, especially when resistance carried with it such dire consequences.

Religious policy. Arab religious policy in Sind was enunciated initially as part of amân, that is, as a corollary to political submission. Before a definite religious policy could come into effect, the individuals and communities within Sind must first have submitted to Arab suzerainty. It was only after the greater part of Sind was conquered and Dâhir defeated that we read the details of a religious policy, primarily that elaborated at Brahmanâbâd and Arôr: a choice not between Islam and the sword, but between Islam and jizyah.

The Arabs brought with them to Sind a precedent for perceiving and dealing with non-Muslims in the previous assimilation of the Zoroastrians (majûs) into the category of ahl al-kitâb ("scriptuaries"), despite their apparent lack of a written scripture and the fact that they stood outside the Judeo-Christian tradition (whose members comprised the usual scriptuaries).[121] Scriptuaries, after submitting to Muslim rule, were then considered ahl al-dhimmah ("protected subjects") and guaranteed a certain amount of Muslim noninterference in religious matters in return for fulfilling a number of obligations incumbent on the status.[122] Since both Hinduism and Buddhism were literate religions possessing scriptures, it was not conceptually difficult for the Arabs to extend the Zoroastrian precedent to the non-Muslims of Sind and consider them ahl al-kitâb and dhimmîs.

The general religious policy of Muhammad b. al-Qâsim is

noted by Balâdhurî with regard to the city of al-Rûr (Arôr):

> He conquered the city by treaty (sulh) with the condition that he would not kill them nor enter their temple (budd). And he said: "The budd will be considered similar to the churches of the Christians and Jews and the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians (majûs)." He imposed the tribute (kharâj) on those in al-Rûr and built a mosque.[123]

That is, the problem of the status of the non-Muslims of Sind was resolved by considering them as scriptuaries similar to the Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. While Balâdhurî mentions this particular decision in connection with the city of al-Rûr where the temple in question was a Buddhist vihâra,[124] the Chachnâmah applies a similarly worded ruling to the inhabitants (probably Hindu) of the region around Brahmanâbâd.[125] Indeed, the frequent occurrence in the primary sources of the terms dhimmah, dhimmî, and jizyah, applied equally to both Hindus and Buddhists, indicates that the Arab perception of the indigenes as equivalent to scriptuaries for the purposes of institutional assimilation was general in Sind.[126]

Three main issues related to the status of dhimmah in Sind can be isolated: the payment of the distinguishing poll-tax (jizyah); the construction of new and repair of old temples; and the application of special discriminatory regulations on certain groups of dhimmîs. In their solution of these issues, the Arabs followed precedents existing in other regions of the Muslim world, but also developed certain procedures unique to Sind.

The primary obligation of Sindî dhimmîs was the payment

of the jizyah. Detailed regulations concerning this much-debated tax were outlined in the settlement at Brahmanâbâd:

> [Muhammad-i Qâsim] imposed a tax (mâl) on the rest of the subjects according to the customs (sunan) of the Prophet, on whom be peace. Whoever accepted Islam was exempted from slavery (bandagî) and the poll-tax (mâl va-gazîd). Whoever did not submit [to Islam] had mâl imposed in three categories: the first and largest category, from each forty-eight dirhams of silver; the intermediate category, twenty-four dirhams; the lowest category, twelve dirhams. [Muhammad] ordered: "Go now. Those who become Muslims and accept Islam, their mâl is exempted. Those wishing to retain their faith (kêsh) must pay the gazîd and jizyah to follow their ancestral religion.[127]

Peter Hardy has doubted the antiquity of this passage of the Chachnâmah on the grounds that the events in question "antedate the differentiation between kharâdj as land-tax and djizya as poll-tax under the late Umayyads."[128] However, it is no longer possible to accept the argument, advanced by Wellhausen, that the distinction between the two taxes emerged in Khurâsân under the late Umayyads.[129] Daniel Dennett and Frede Løkkegaard have shown conclusively that the two taxes were differentiated from an early period, even though their labels were initially interchangeable.[130] Indeed, the fact that the Chachnâmah, in the above passage and elsewhere, uses variable terms (e.g., mâl/amwâl, gazîd, jizyah, Kharâj) for what is obviously a poll-tax argues for the antiquity and authenticity of its account.[131] A historian writing after the clarification of the terms would not have confounded kharâj (mâl/amwâl) with jizyah (gazîd). In any case, it is clear that the tax of the above mentioned ᶜahd was a poll-tax and not a land-tax since it was levied on the adult working population of the city on the basis of a census.[132]

The ratio of twelve, twenty-four, and forty-eight dirhams for the *jizyah* was that of the Sasanian poll-tax, adopted by the Arabs in ᶜIrâq after the conquest, and later systematized by the jurists.[133] It is probable that this ratio was applied in Sind at the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest on the basis of the precedent established in ᶜIrâq (whose governor, al-Ḥajjâj, was the cousin of the conqueror of Sind) and is not simply the reflection of later legal developments.

The Arabs generally left the administrative apparatus in the hands of local Sindîs, probably the leaders of dominant regional castes, who acted under the supervision of a small number of Arab officers. Kâkah b. Kôtak, the ruler of Budhîyah, was confirmed as the hereditary sub-governor of the region for the Arabs in a ceremony which followed the Buddhist (*samanî*) customs of his family.[134] The head of the Lôhânah caste, Môkah b. Basâyah, was given the administration of the regions of Bêt and Qiṣṣah; his descendants were guaranteed, in a written document provided by the Arabs, the hereditary right to the office (called *rânagî* in the *Chachnâmah*).[135] After Brahmanâbâd was conquered, Brahmins were given official appointments in rural regions (*rûstâhâ*) which confirmed their positions as hereditary in perpetuity: "No one will change or alter this," Muḥammad assured them.[136]

Similarly, the actual collection of the *jizyah* was delegated to the local administrators of the previous dynasty. The four major merchants (*ᶜuẓẓâm-i tujjâr*) of the city of Brahmanâbâd were held responsible for the collection of the assessment in the

city, under the direct supervision of the Muhallabite Wadâ^c b. Humayd al-Azdî.[137] The landed aristocracy of Sind (dihqânân va-ra'îsân) were given the overall accountability for the collection of the revenue assessment (tahsîl-i mâl) within their areas of jurisdiction.[138] They were aided in this task by the rural Brahmins.[139]

There was a certain flexibility in the collection of the jizyah.[140] It could be remitted in cash (nuqûd) or kind (^curûd), although the former was generally preferred.[141] If there was any question concerning the amount of the assessment, it was possible for the Sindîs to bypass their compatriot middlemen and appeal directly to the Arab officers in overall control of the collection. For example, when the settlement of Brahmanâbâd was extended to the surrounding regions, a delegation came to the Arabs to enquire in some trepidation about both their fiscal obligations and the Brahmins appointed over the collection of the mâl. Muhammad assured them:

> Be cheerful in all things. Do not be afraid, you will not be taken to task. I do not require from you a written guarantee (khattî va-qabâlat) [of payment]. To be sure, every share (qismat) which has been determined and assessed must necessarily be produced with care and diligence. But whoever has a petition [concerning the assessment], tell us; it will be heard and a reply clearly given, and the desire of each one may be granted.[142]

Indeed, the initial assessment of twelve, twenty-four, and forty-eight dirhams at Brahmanâbâd was lowered uniformly to twelve dirhams per adult male on the grounds of hardship accompanying the conquest of the city.[143] Moreover, Muhammad made the decision to withhold 3 percent of the principal of the revenue assessment

and use it for the benefit of non-Muslim religious mendicants, after being informed that this was the usual fiscal custom.[144] By adopting these procedures, the Arabs were able to impose a flexible jizyah on the indigenes without serious opposition.

The non-Muslims of Sind were understandably concerned with what precise religious rights they were to have in exchange for the payment of jizyah. After the settlement at Brahmanâbâd was promulgated, a number of temple priests (probably Buddhist) approached Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim and asked him to clarify for their benefit the earlier broad ruling of the ᶜahd granting religious freedom. As they outlined the problem:

> We consented to the poll-tax (gazîd va-kharâj) for this reason: that each person might follow his own faith. This idol-temple of our deity (but-khânah-yi buddah-yi mâ) has become dilapidated and hence we are unable to worship our idols (aṣnâm). Just amîr, grant us permission to rebuild so that we can continue to worship our deity (maᶜbûd).[145]

The priests are arguing, with some subtlety, that they would be unable to worship freely, as promised by the terms of the treaty, unless they were given permission to repair their temple. There is even an intimation here and elsewhere that they would welcome Arab financial aid in this project, a ploy worked earlier and successfully in the same place against the Brahmin Chach by the Buddhist abbot Buddah-Rakkû.[146]

Muḥammad was uncertain what to do in this case and wrote al-Ḥajjâj for advice. The latter replied:

> The letter of my dear cousin Muḥammad-i Qâsim has been received and the situation as outlined understood. With regard to the petition of the headmen (muqaddamân) of Brahmanâbâd concerning the building of temples (ᶜimârat-i buddah),

> since they have submitted peacefully and have adhered to their status of dhimmah by remitting the amwâl to the capital, apart from this mâl, there can be no just claim on them. Because when they have become dhimmî, we have absolutely no further rights to their lives or property (khûn va-mâl). Permission is hereby granted for them to worship their own deity (maᶜbûd). No one should be forbidden or prevented from following his own faith. They can do as they will in their own homes.[147]

Although al-Ḥajjâj glosses over the question of rebuilding old temples, it is clear that he has accepted the general argument of the Sindî priests. As long as they have submitted and paid the poll-tax, their religious beliefs and practices should be of no concern to the Muslims.[148] Al-Ḥajjâj was more interested in a steady and secure cash flow than in conversion.

Having been given this general sanction, Muḥammad could and did interpret it comprehensively. Not only did he give the dhimmîs permission to worship their own deity and rebuild their temples, the matter of the petition, but he went further and specified that the status of dhimmah guaranteed them the right to patronize religious mendicants, observe their own religious festivals (aᶜyâd) and rituals (marâsim), and even deduct a contribution to the priests of 3 percent of the principal of the poll-tax.[149] In addition, religious mendicants were given the sanction to solicit contributions from the public by going from house to house with a copper bowl.[150]

Certain additional discriminatory measures relating to the status of dhimmah are said to have been applied at the time of the conquest to two important Sindî castes: the Jats (Arabic, zuṭṭ, Persian, jattân) and the Lôhânahs (encompassing the castes

of Lâkhah, Sammah, and possibly Sahtah [variation, Sa^c^tah]).[151] As the incident is related in considerable detail in the Chachnâmah, after the conquest of Brahmanâbâd and the settlement of its affairs, Muḥammad turned his attention to the special case of the Jats and Lôhânahs. He asked Siyâkar (previously the vizier of Dâhir) and the Lôhânah chieftain Môkah b. Basâyah about the treatment of these castes under the Sîlâ'ij dynasty. He was informed of a variety of restrictions and obligations which had been applied to them formerly: inter alia, they could only leave their homes when accompanied by a dog, were required to wear certain distinguishing items (e.g., black mantles) and forbidden others (e.g., soft garments, hats, shoes), and had to perform particular services on demand (e.g., supply guides and road guards).[152] Penalties were imposed for violations of these terms and ranged from simple fines to immolation. According to his Sindî informants, these regulations and penalties had been decreed due to the savage and rebellious nature of these castes.[153] Accepting their analysis, Muḥammad is said to have ratified all the existing restrictions and obligations applied to these castes, adding a further requirement that they provide hospitality to any traveller for a day (if sick, three days), following the precedent (sunan) established by ^c^Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb in Syria.[154]

While it was not unusual for the Arabs to affix additional discriminatory conditions to treaties with dhimmîs around this time,[155] there are several cogent reasons for doubting that the policy as outlined in its particulars in the Chachnâmah was that of Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim, at least towards the Lôhânahs or

their sub-castes. For one thing, the Lôhânahs were generally collaborative and the caste's two main leaders, Môkah and Râsil b. Basâyah, were treated with considerable ceremony and honours at the time of the conquest.[156] The advice and active assistance of Môkah in particular was crucial to the success of the conquest, and his large hereditary domain of Qiṣṣah, which he ruled for the Arabs, was one of the few regions that did not join the widespread revolt between 110/728 and 120/737.[157] It is simply inconceivable that Môkah, a Lôhânah, would have given the description of the Lôhânahs attributed to him in the Chach-nâmah. It is highly unlikely that Muḥammad would have called this important collaborating tribe "a reprehensible people"[158] (makrûh khalqân), let alone in Môkah's presence, and applied these humiliating restrictions against them.

Mohammad Habib has attempted to comprehend this passage by arguing that the sanctions did not apply to all the Lôhânahs but only the Lâkhah and Sammah sub-groups who were, he suggests, "the most backward and savage section of the race."[159] But here too there are difficulties. Even after the restrictions were framed concerning the Sammahs and Lâkhahs, Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim was greeted by a group from the Sammah caste (nothing more is heard of the Lâkhahs) who celebrated his arrival with trumpets, drums, and dancing.[160] The formidable leader of the Syrian ashrâf, Khuraym al-Nâ^{c}im b. ^{c}Amr al-Murrî, uncle of a later governor of Sind, was so pleased by their acts of fidelity that he is said to have uttered taḥmîd and tahlîl in amazement.[161] There is no indication here or elsewhere that the Sammahs were particu-

larly "savage" or "reprehensible" or that the Arabs had singled them out for additional restrictions.

Even in the case of the Jats, the evidence is not unequivocal: Before the final battle with Dâhir, four thousand of the western Jats from the region of Sîwistân joined the Arabs in the further conquest of Sind.[162] It is highly unlikely that they would have been immediately rewarded for their assistance by degrading restrictive sanctions.

Conversely, there is good reason to believe that some restrictions were applied at some time to certain castes of Sind, especially the Jat. Balâdhurî notes that a later governor of Sind, cImrân b. Mûsâ al-Barmakî (221-27/835-41), summoned the Jats and "sealed their hands, took the jizyah from them, and ordered each of them to appear with a dog. Hence, the price of a dog rose to fifty dirhams."[163] It is significant that the canine clause, which is highly irregular, appears prominently here as in the Chachnâmah. Perhaps some form of the restrictions were promulgated at the time of the conquest, but only against the eastern Jats who had fought with Dâhir against the Arabs,[164] and then extended at some later date to other Jat groups of Sind. The extension of these restrictive sanctions could have occurred around the time of the widespread revolt of the Jats in the marsh area of cIrâq (ca. 219-20/834-35) and been part of a general policy of the cAbbâsids towards the rebellious Jats.[165]

As far as the Lôhânahs and their sub-castes are concerned, either the Jat restrictions were extended by the Arabs to incorporate these castes at some time subsequent to the conquest and

before the compilation of the Chachnâmah, or else—they were never applied, at least by the Arabs, and are simply the elaboration of the Brahmins of Arôr who formed the main source for the indigenous material contained in the Chachnâmah.[166] The Lôhânahs were not only collaborators but had earlier formed the main opposition to the dynasty founded by Chach, who was himself a Brahmin from the region of Arôr and who is said to have formulated the original Lôhânah restrictions.[167] Indeed, it is even possible that the Jat restrictions were attributed to the Lôhânahs by the Arôrî Brahmins on their own part because, in their view, these castes had collaborated with and hence had become polluted by the Arab caṇḍâlas ("out-castes"), a term which occurs (as the Persian chandâlân) in the Chachnâmah with reference to Arab-Sindî contact.[168]

Whatever the case of the Lôhânahs, it is clear that there were restrictions imposed on certain dhimmîs of Sind by the Arabs at some time and, more importantly, that these were probably related to preexisting Hindu restrictions on the out-caste caṇḍâlas, "that lowest of mortals," as Manu calls them.[169] While the association of dhimmîs with dogs is not otherwise noted in the Muslim tradition,[170] the association of caṇḍâlas with dogs is normal in the Hindu legal texts. As Atindranath Bose has observed: "Nothing demonstrates more sharply the social status of a caṇḍâla than his very frequent classification with a dog."[171] In this case, the Hindu caste-regulations would have been imposed at some time before the early third/ninth century--if not by Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim himself then by subsequent governors--as one of the dis-

tinctions peculiar to the caste's dhimmah status. That is, Muslim institutions served partially to legitimize and continue the caste system in Arab Sind.

While Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim had a definite policy towards the non-Muslims of Sind, it is extraordinarily difficult to trace subsequent developments. The only documented attempt at proselytization in the pre-Ismâᶜîlî period occurred during the caliphate of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzîz (99-101/717-20) who wrote the princes of Sind "inviting them to Islam and submission on the condition that he would rule them just like he did the Muslims."[172] Some Sindîs, including Jaysîyah b. Dâhir and possibly his brother Ṣaṣṣah, did accept the invitation of ᶜUmar and became Muslims, taking Arab names in the process.

This arrangement did not last long. In 104/722, the ambitious Umayyad general, al-Junayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân al-Murrî, was appointed governor of Sind and almost immediately provoked a quarrel with Jaysîyah, disputing his jurisdiction over part of Sind.[173] Jaysîyah refused to submit, arguing, "I have accepted Islam and a pious man [i.e., ᶜUmar II] has entrusted this land to me."[174] A major confrontation eventually ensued, and both Jaysîyah and later his brother Ṣaṣṣah were killed, thus bringing to an end ᶜUmar's attempt to encourage conversion in Sind.

Jaysîyah's reply to al-Junayd indicates that he considered conversion to Islam as having legitimized his semi-independent rule over part of Sind as a Muslim agent of the

caliph, probably subject to the payment of some form of tax to the actual Arab governor appointed concurrently.[175] This is a departure from the events of the conquest where Sindî princes such as Kâkah b. Kôtak and Môkah b. Basâyah kept their traditional perquisites and positions on an aman without converting.[176] Furthermore, it is evident that the Sindî princes of the defeated family of Chach welcomed ᶜUmar's conversion ruling, at least initially, as a means of regaining their lost independence. It is significant that when Jaysîyah was killed, his brother Ṣaṣṣah attempted unsuccessfully to flee--with the intention of complaining about the treachery of al-Junayd--to the caliph himself, and not to other Sindî rulers or to India.[177] That is, the argument was over which Muslims would rule Sind: the indigenous princes who had converted to Islam or the Arabs sent by the caliph.

Summary. Arab policies in Sind were primarily oriented towards the submission of the indigenes to Arab rule, not necessarily towards the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam. After ᶜUmar II, the only apparent attempt by Muslims to proselytize a large number of Sindîs occurred around the end of the Arab period under the Ismâᶜîlîs, a topic that will be discussed in another chapter. Until the fourth/tenth century, the Arabs showed little inclination to interfere with either of the two non-Muslim religions of Sind, as long as their adherents neither rebelled nor withheld the funds due the government.

Indeed, Arab policies in many ways served to legitimize preexisting non-Muslim institutions in Sind, especially that of

the caste system. The Arabs continued the various Hindu legal restrictions on certain lower or out-castes by perceiving the customary caste laws as additional riders attached to the dhimmah status of these groups. The special traditional position of the Brahmin caste was confirmed in the rural regions after the conquest of Brahmanâbâd. The traditional perquisites of certain non-Muslim caste leaders, such as Kâkah b. Kôtak of the Boddah and Môkah b. Basâyah of the Lôhânah, were recognized by the Arabs in accordance with local customs: the former in a Buddhist ceremony and the latter in a rite bestowing on him the chatr (Skt., chattra, the regal "parasol") of local rule (rânagî). Certain caste positions and benefits were recognized as hereditary, and their leaders were given a written document to this effect by the Arabs. In addition, Buddhist and Hindu religious festivals, public rituals, and temples and monasteries were preserved by way of the status of dhimmah. Priests were provided an official stipend by the Arabs of 3 percent of the principal of the jizyah, and local religious institutions, such as the practice of monks soliciting contributions from the public, were permitted to continue.

This is not to say, however, that the policies adopted by the Arabs toward the Sindî non-Muslims were nondiscriminatory. As dhimmîs, Hindus and Buddhists were certainly second-class citizens, generally perceived by Muslims as following inferior religions. While non-Muslims were free, within limits, to worship as they wished, Muslims were equally free to contemn their worship. In the construction of the Arab period mosque at Daybul,

Śaivite _liṅgas_ were incorporated into the bottom steps of all three portals, a definite indication of an institutional contempt of Śaivism.[178] Clearly, Hindus and Buddhists were discriminated against, albeit not necessarily for the purposes of conversion. Moreover, regardless of what Arab policy may have been, some non-Muslims may have perceived conversion as a means of escaping the violence surrounding the initial conquest of certain areas of Sind. This is particularly true of combatants who could generally receive _amân_ only before the battle ensued. Thereafter, if they wished to escape death or enslavement, conversion was one option and, indeed, we hear of a single instance where a group of soldiers are said to have converted in the middle of the final battle between the Arabs and Dâhir.[179] This surprising conversion was unsolicited but accepted.

Generally speaking, however, the policy of both the conquest and the settlement focussed on the submission of the Sindîs and not their conversion. As a result, it is necessary to reject, by and large, the simple model of coerced conversion normally adopted for Sind. What conversion took place cannot be solely, or even primarily, attributed to the overt pressures of a militant conversionist Islam. Conversely, it cannot be said that conversion took place due to the attractions of a posited principle of equality in Islam. As noted, Arab policies generally confirmed the local restrictive traditions concerning the lower castes. Up to the Ismâᶜîlî period, there is no indication that the Arabs engaged in active proselytization of any kind, either coercive or peaceful. Other, more subtle, factors were at work.

Hindu and Buddhist Response

There are clear discrepancies between the Buddhists and the Hindus of Sind both in their immediate response to the Arab invasion and in the long term effect which the occupation had on them. That is, Buddhists tended to collaborate to a significantly greater extent and at an earlier date than did Hindus and, more importantly, Buddhism disappeared completely as a viable religious system during the Arab period while Hinduism has continued to survive, in varying conditions of prosperity, until the present day.

Collaboration and resistance. The issue of Buddhist collaboration initially arose in those secondary sources concerned with assigning the onus for the fall of Sind.[180] It was concluded that Sind was lost to the Arabs due to the treasonous action of the Sindî Buddhists acting as fifth columnists. In recent years, however, this theory has been challenged by Dhar and Friedmann who have argued that both Buddhists and Hindus collaborated, and hence it is incomplete and unwarranted to single out the former for censure.[181] Hence, the data must be reexamined to see if it contains evidence of collaboration differentials. I am not concerned here with the further topic of whether or not collaboration was responsible in any way for the military collapse of Sind.

Where the primary sources refer to religious affiliation, Buddhist communities (as opposed to individuals) are always (there is no exception) mentioned in terms of collaboration.[182] Conversely,

Hîndu communities rarely collaborated until after the conquest of Brahmanâbâd, and even then only sparingly.[183] In the case of Sîwistân, a town where the population was divided between Buddhists and Hindus, the former collaborated even before the fort was taken while the Hindu governor and troops formed the main resistance to the Arabs.[184] The prosopographical evidence is just as unequivocal: nine of the ten Buddhists referred to by name in the primary sources were collaborators.[185] The sole exception, Bhandawîr Samanî, who is referred to only once in the Chachnâmah as the vizier of Dâhir, is either a mistake for the Hindu Siyâkar (the usual name for Dâhir's vizier) or else, more likely, this is a scribal error for Bhandarkû Samanî, the collaborating Buddhist governor of the city of Nîrûn.[186] If this is the case, then every Buddhist named in the sources was a collaborator. On the other hand, while the names of numerous Hindus have been preserved, only one individual definitely collaborated before the death of Dâhir.[187] Seven of the nine or ten named Buddhists collaborated during this same period.[188] The crucial point is not that some Hindus collaborated, but that there is not one example in the sources of an individual Buddhist (with the possible exception of Bhandawîr) or a group of Buddhists who did not collaborate with the Arabs.

Furthermore, Buddhists generally collaborated early on in the campaign before the major conquest of Sind had been achieved and even before the conquest of towns in which they were resident and which were held by strong garrisons.[189] The Nîrûnî Buddhists had actually sent envoys to al-Ḥajjâj requesting a separate peace

before the forces of Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim had even been dispatched to Sind.[190] It is not quite accurate to conclude, as does Friedmann, that Buddhist collaboration was simply opportunistic, guided by "the desire to be on the winning side."[191] The great majority of cases of Buddhist collaboration (e.g., Nîrûn, Bêt, Sâkrah, Sîwistân, Budhîyah) took place before there was any indication that the Arab side would be "the winning side": the Arabs had only conquered portions of the Indus Delta, Dâhir and his large army were still intact, and the major and most productive part of Sind remained to be taken. Buddhists went out of their way to aid the Arabs in conditions of considerable personal jeopardy. Indeed, the Sîwistânî Buddhists not only went over to the Arabs before their town had been conquered, but they were later put in some peril when the loyalist forces of Chand Râm Hâlah retook the town.[192] The Buddhists opted again for the Arabs, closing the gates of the city against Chand Râm during the ensuing battle.

Conversely, those Hindus who did collaborate (e.g., Siyâkar, Kaksah b. Chandar, and the Brahmins of Brahmanâbâd) tended to do so only after Dâhir had been killed and his army defeated.[193] Even after Dâhir's death, however, the Hindus of Upper Sind (where there were few if any Buddhists) did not submit easily. Indeed, the fighting at Multân, the last city to be taken by the Arabs, may well have been the most severe and protracted of the entire campaign.[194] The main military resistance against the Arabs, both during and after the conquest, was conducted by individuals who were Hindu.[195] There are no instances

of resistance at any time undertaken by individuals or groups identifiably Buddhist.

To be sure, Buddhists were not the only collaborators in Sind, nor were all Buddhists necessarily collaborators (although, with one possible exception, all those named in the primary sources were). Some Hindus may have collaborated, some cooperated, and some resisted. Nevertheless, in general, there is a clear distinction between Hindu and Buddhist reactions to the Arab invasion of Sind. Buddhists tended to collaborate at an earlier date and more completely than did Hindus.

Extinction and survival. One can infer that Buddhism ceased to exist in Sind since the sumanîyah figure prominently in the Arabic and Persian accounts of the conquest, but not thereafter, despite the numerous Muslim travellers passing through the area.[196] There is not a single reference to Buddhists actually in Sind subsequent to the initial Thaqafite conquest. Even such an astute scholar as Bîrûnî, who actually visited Sind, was unable to find any Buddhist informants for his encyclopaedia on Indian religions ("I have never found a Buddhistic book and never knew a Buddhist from whom I might have learned their theories")[197] and hence had to rely on Hindu and earlier Muslim sources for his information. Moreover, none of the surviving Buddhist structures in Sind were built after the Muslim conquest nor, with the exception of the stûpa at Mirpur Khas (where Arab coins of an undetermined date have been found), can they be dated with confidence, by way of artifacts

and debris, as inhabited beyond the second/eighth century.[198] In consequence, it is reasonable to conclude that Buddhism died out in Sind during the course of Arab rule: indeed, the absence of Arab-period artifacts in Buddhist monasteries suggests a relatively early date for its decline and termination.

Hinduism, on the other hand, never disappeared in Sind. Excluding the region of Multân (which after the Arab period was no longer part of Sind), probably around half of the population of Sind-Mukrân was Hindu at the time of the Arab conquest.[199] In 1911, exactly twelve hundred years after Muhammad b. al-Qâsim had conquered the city of Daybul (93/711), about a quarter of the population of the British province of Sind was still Hindu, ranging from a low of 10.1 percent in the Upper Sind Frontier District to a high of 44.8 percent in Thar-Parkar District.[200] During this long span of Muslim settlement, Hinduism had lost only half of its adherents. Moreover, later Muslim authors visiting or writing of Sind frequently refer to the Hindus of the region. While he was unable to find a single Buddhist informant, Bîrûnî refers repeatedly to the Hindus of Sind.[201] The geographer Maqdisî, who visited Sind shortly before 375/985, refers to the flourishing condition of the Hindu temples of the region and the wealth brought them by the actions of women (the reference is clearly to devadâsîs) received as religious endowments (awqâf) by the temples.[202]

Not only did Hinduism survive as a religion during the Arab period, but it contained enough vitality to attract Muslims as well. Maqdisî encountered a Muslim who had converted to

Hinduism in Sind and had only returned to Islam when he left Sind for Nîshâpûr.[203] While Maqdisî gives only the one incident, he does indicate that the Hindu temples of Sind were a major source of temptation (fitnah) to the Muslim community of the region.[204] This strongly suggests that Hinduism was alive--indeed, flourishing--in Sind as late as the last half of the fourth/tenth century.

While Hinduism continued to function during the Arab period and Buddhism disappeared, it does not necessarily follow that Buddhists converted en masse to Islam. There are at least two other options: they emigrated from Sind to other parts of South Asia where Buddhism was thriving or they became Hindus. These three possibilities are not mutually exclusive: it could be that some Buddhists emigrated, some were absorbed into Hinduism, and some were converted to Islam. Indeed, all three processes are observable to different degrees.

A number of Buddhist monks from Sind definitely emigrated from Sind to other parts of Buddhist South Asia. There are occasional references in the source material to Sindî Buddhists living in Bengal and Bihar during the reign of the Pâlas, a dynasty which actively patronized Buddhism. A late Tibetan historian, Târanâtha, records an earlier tradition that Sindî Buddhist monks joined with a group of Sinhalese in order to destroy certain Tantric images and scriptures at Bodh Gaya during the reign of the Pâla king Dharmapâla (ca. 770-810 A.D.).[205] The historicity of this account is supported by the appearance in inscriptions

of the Pâla period of the names of two Sindî Buddhists, Pûrṇa-dâsa and Dharma-bhîma.[206] However, the Sindîs of Târanâtha's report did not find a safe refuge in eastern India since their aggressive attempts to convert the local Mahâyânists to their own Theravâda perspective resulted in the execution of many of them.[207]

There were also Buddhist monks from Sind in regions of Gujarat ruled by the Râṣṭrakûṭa dynasty. Two inscriptions of the Gurjara Râṣṭrakûṭa kings Dantivarman I and Dhruva II, dated Śaka 789/A.D. 857 and Śaka 806/A.D. 884, record the grant of a number of villages near Surat for the maintenance of Sammitîya monks from Sind.[208]

While some Buddhist monks from Sind emigrated to India during the Arab occupation, it is extremely unlikely that any large-scale diaspora of Buddhists other than monks occurred. Buddhists probably formed the simple majority of the population of Lower Sind. If there had been a mass exodus of these people, then surely the sources would contain some reference to it. Emigration alone cannot account for the disappearance of millions of Sindî Buddhists.

Secondly, it is possible that Buddhism disappeared in the Sind as Buddhists became Hindus. This is the usual explanation for the later decline and evanescence of Buddhism in other parts of India, dating from the twelfth century A.D.[209] In brief, it is postulated that Indian Buddhists gradually became Hinduized through the adoption of Mahâyâna and Tantric

positions, which are thought to have varied little from Hindu perspectives. This then paved the way for Buddhism to be gradually assimilated into and accommodated by an over-arching and inclusive Hinduism, resulting eventually in the total absorption and extinction of Buddhism. Whatever the virtues of the theory for the situation occurring in greater India from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries A.D. (and there are difficulties),[210] the arguments do not transfer well to Arab Sind.

As previously noted in chapter two, the Buddhists of Sind belonged to the Sammitîya school of the Theravâḍa. They were not Mahâyânists or Tantrayânists either at the time of the conquest or subsequently. The Sindî monks agitating in Bihar were Theravâdins like the Sinhalese, and the Sindî Buddhist community supported in Gujarat by the Râṣṭrakûṭas was Sammitîya.[211] Moreover, all the evidence points towards an energetic abhorrence of ~~this~~ type of Hinduized Buddhism on the part of Sindî Buddhists. The Sindî monks who were proselytizing for the Theravâda in Bihar actually burnt the Tântric scriptures in the Vajrâsana monastery and destroyed the silver image of Hevajra.[212] Thus, if Sindî Buddhism was becoming assimilated to Hinduism, it could not have been through the adoption of Mahâyâna or Tantric tenets and practices.

Nor should the existence of the populist Sammitîya in Sind be taken as evidence in itself for the Hinduization of Sindî Buddhism (e.g., as evidenced by the idea of <u>puggala</u>) necessarily leading to its absorption in Hinduism. The Sammitîya was still in existence in other parts of India at the time the

historian Târanâtha was writing in the sixteenth century A.D.[213] It was only in Sind that the Sammitîya had disappeared by the tenth century A.D.

Hence, it is unlikely that Buddhists became Hindu due to the Hinduization of the belief system. But this is not to say that Buddhists did not convert to Hinduism. While there is no direct evidence of Buddhists becoming Hindu in Sind, some, perhaps even a large number, probably did. It can be suggested, on theoretical grounds which will become apparent later, that if Buddhists were absorbed into Hinduism, it was primarily at the rural level where the pressures of accomodation would have been greater than at the urban level which was surely Islamic in its orientation.

The third possibility is that Buddhists tended to convert to Islam. The major evidence for this propostion is demographic. In terms of relative numbers of religious adherents, Sind was divided into two general areas at the time of the Arab conquest: Buddhists were represented primarily in Lower Sind while Upper Sind was almost entirely Hindu. There are some indications that during the Arab period the people of Lower Sind were converted to Islam and Islamized at a more rapid rate and to a greater degree than those of Upper Sind. For one thing, all later Muslim Sind-related local nisbahs refer to Lower Sind or Ţûrân (i.e., al-Manşûrî, al-Daybulî, al-Quşdârî); not one nisbah for Upper Sind, not even al-Multânî, occurs during the entire Arab period.[214] Further, while Arabic sources refer to thirteen towns or cities

of Sind possessing mosques, only one of these (at Multân) is in Upper Sind, compared with nine in Lower Sind, two in Mukrân, and one in Ṭûrân (the Budhîyah of the conquest).[215] Under the reasonable assumption that the presence of mosques refects Islamization, one can conclude that Lower Sind was Islamized to a significantly greater extent than was Upper Sind. And, of course, Islamization implies previous conversion.

Moreover, specific towns (all in Lower Sind), known to have been predominantly Buddhist at the time of the Arab conquest, were definitely Muslim by the fourth/tenth century. The town of Sâwandî (variation, Sâwandarî), a major Buddhist centre with an important monastery, was Muslim by the time of the historian Balâdhurî (d. 279/892)--or his source Madâ'inî (d. 225/839--who could confidently assert, "the people of Sâwandarî are today Muslim."[216] Arôr, the site of a Buddhist monastery, and Nîrûn, whose Buddhist governors and inhabitants actively aided the Arabs, were both Muslim when al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabî (d. 380/990) wrote his Kitâb al-ᶜAzîzî.[217]

In the case of the predominantly Buddhist city of Nîrûn, there exists an intriguing early report recorded by the eminent traditionist Muḥammad b. Ismâᶜîl al-Bukhârî (d. 256/869) to the effect that five Companions (ṣaḥâbah) of the Prophet Muḥammad actually travelled to this city in the pre-conquest period and converted many of its inhabitants.[218] Three of these Companions are even said to have died and been buried in Nîrûn. While undoubtedly fabricated (and hence of no use as evidence for the condition of Islam in pre-conquest Sind), it is important for

what it reveals concerning Buddhism and Islam in Sind in the century following the conquest. It would seem to indicate that the previously Buddhist inhabitants of Nîrûn had converted and Islamized to the extent that there was a perceived need to establish their precedence in Islamic Sind as the initial indigenous converts of the region. That is, Bukhârî's report supports the theory of an early conversion and Islamization date for the Buddhists of Sind.

The incident also suggests the process whereby these special claims were being made by the Buddhist converts to Islam. The unique pre-conquest collaborationist status of Buddhist Nîrûn was legitimized at a later date in Islamic terms by Nîrûnî non-Arab Muslims (Arab settlers would have no need to make such claims) as a case of conversion precedence. The claims are given added potency through attributing their conversion to the primary agency, exterior to Sind, of the Companions of the Prophet.[219] That is, the claim is not only for precedence but for a qualitatively superior conversion (i.e., Islamization).

Religion and class. At this juncture, it is necessary to return to the previously mentioned evidence of Buddhist collaboration. While the indisputable fact of collaboration does not in itself indicate either conversion or a preference for the religious tenets of Islam, it does reveal certain socio-economic features of Sindî Buddhism, especially its class composition. In practically every situation where Buddhists are referred to in the sources on the Arab conquest, they are men-

tioned either in a list with merchants and artisans or in connection with commerce. This cannot be merely coincidental.

When the Arabs beseiged the fort of Mawj in the region of Sîwistân, its Buddhist inhabitants advised the Hindu governor Bajhrâ b. Chandar to submit to the Arabs since "we are afraid that this group will come and, thinking we are your followers, take our lives and wealth (<u>mâl</u>)."[220] The concern of the Buddhists with retaining their possessions was so important a consideration that when Bajhrâ rejected their offer to intercede with the Arabs, they again approached him: "It is not proper that through your unwillingness to submit, our lives and wealth should be endangered."[221] When Bajhrâ proved obdurate, the Buddhists decided to secure a separate peace with the Arabs. Their expressed aim of retaining their capital intact proved well-founded. After the Arabs had taken the fort, Muḥammad entered the city and

> . . . wherever it was found, he confiscated the gold and ingots and removed all silver, ornaments, and specie, except from the Buddhists (<u>samanîyân</u>) with whom he had contracted a firm treaty (<u>ᶜahd-i wathîq</u>).[222]

It is apparent from the above passage that the Buddhists of this region must have possessed a considerable quantity of capital in gold, silver, and specie which they understandably wanted to safeguard. It is not clear from the text whether the capital referred to was monastic, individual, or both.

The mercantile orientation of the Buddhists of Sîwistân is also evidenced in a later section of the <u>Chachnâmah</u> where, after an ephemeral anti-Arab revolt by Brahmin loyalists was put down, the Arabs were welcomed by a group of "Buddhists,

merchants (tujjâr), and artisans (ṣunnâ^c)."[223] Since the revolt was not of their making, Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim approved the giving of amân a second time to the Buddhists and important merchants (samanîyân va-tujjâr-i ma^cârif) of the area.[224]

At Arôr, the mercantile and artisanal classes who are said to have renounced allegiance to the Brahmins (pas mardân-i tujjâr va-ṣunnâ^c va-muḥtarifah payghâm dâdand kih az bay^cat-i barâhimah murâja^cat namûdîm) were probably Buddhist since, after they opened the city to the Arabs, they retired to the temple at the local Buddhist monastery (but-khânah-yi naw-bahâr) to worship.[225] At Sâwandî, in the Brahmanâbâd region, "the people of that region were all Buddhist idol-worshippers and merchants."[226] This area, centred on a Buddhist monastery, had been previously under the influence of Buddah-Rakkû, the abbot at the time of Chach. This prominent Buddhist monk had in his possession "wealth, chattels, and estates" which he believed were threatened by the ascendancy of the Brahmin Chach.[227] While the reference may be to his personal possessions, it is more likely (since he was the abbot of the nava-vihâra) that monastic capital and estates were involved. The use of the term zirâ^cat-i buddah ("irrigated fields of the temple") by Buddah-Rakkû in another passage suggests that there were agricultural lands attached to the monastery.[228] Since the monastic complex was located on the outskirts of the city of Brahmanâbâd, it is probable that the surplus produce was sold in that city.

The mercantile interests and perspectives of the Buddhist inhabitants of the Indus Delta city of Nîrûn (where collaboration

is later perceived as conversion) are evidenced by the fact that after their prior aman had been confirmed, they opened the gates of their city and immediately "bought and sold (kharîd va-firûkht) with the soldiers."[229] Certain Buddhists from this city later aided the Arabs in purchasing supplies: Bhandarkan Samanî while at Nîrûn and Muqdanyah Samanî at a somewhat later date.[230] The Nîrûnî Buddhists must have had a substantial knowledge of and concern for commerce in order to perform these duties well.

The Nîrûnîs were not the only Sindî Buddhists using their financial knowledge for the benefit of the Arabs. When the Thaqafite army was experiencing severe scarcities, another Buddhist, Môkah b. Basâya, intervened and imported the necessary supplies, working in cooperation with the major merchants of the Indus Delta.[231] Kâkah b. Kôtak, not only a Buddhist but a monk as well (samanî bhikkû), used the opportunity provided by the invasion to obtain for himself and his Arab allies a considerable amount of cash (nuqûd) and materials.[232] Like Môkah, he is said to have been actively engaged in provisioning the Arab army.

Further verification of the mercantile orientation of the Buddhist community of Sind can be found through an analysis of the location and contents of the Buddhist structures in Sind. It has long been recognized that the Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia and China were located along trade routes and provided capital loans and facilities for merchants, particularly those involved in inter-regional commerce.[233] D. D. Kosambi has suggested that the Buddhist monasteries of the Deccan fulfilled

a similar function in the Indian subcontinent. The available evidence suggests that this theory can be extended to Sind.

One important trade route proceeded from the Indus Delta, either directly across the Thar Desert or via Arôr and across the Rajputana Desert, to Mathura where it joined up with the main Indian trade route down the Ganges. This route through the desert to and from Sind features prominently in Buddhist sources which note large caravans of five hundred wagons plying it.[235] At the terminus of this route, on the Sindî side of the desert, lay the extensive Buddhist monastic complex at Mirpur Khas.[236] Judging from the ruins, it was once a thriving and wealthy monastery despite its isolation, a situation which can best be understood from its location on an important trade route.

Similarly, two Buddhist monasteries have been uncovered along the trade route from Arôr through the Bolan Pass and on into what is now Afghanistan. At the stûpa and monastery of Tor-Dherai, situated midway along this route, a large number of potsherds written in Brahmi and Kharosthi script have been found, recording the dedication of a prapa (a place for the supply of travellers) "to the saṅgha of the four quarters."[237] Presumably, this isolated Buddhist centre served as a supply depot and rest stop for merchants and other travellers utilizing the Bolan Pass trade route. At the time of the Arab conquest, this region was ruled by the Kâkaḥ family of Buddhist monks.[238]

To judge from the monastic remains, however, the great majority of Buddhist centres in Sind were located in the Indus

Delta and along the main trade route up the valley of the Indus (see appendix A). These are the same areas where Buddhists, merchants, and artisans are referred to in the Muslim sources. At Arôr, the site of a Buddhist vihâra, the Indus trade route trifurcated, one branch going west to Budhîyah and the Bolan Pass, another north along the river to Gandhara, and a third across the desert to Mathura.[239] Buddhist sources have noted this town as Roruka or Roruva and referred to its extensive commerce.[240] The Buddhist centre of Nîrûn, whose inhabitants were so concerned with Arab trade, was also located on three trade routes: the main route north from Daybul and up the Indus, the route connecting Brahmanâbâd and Sîwistân, and the route to the monastery at Mirpur Khas and across the desert.[241] Sîwistân, where the Buddhists successfully preserved their financial resources via a separate amân, was a major commercial centre on the trade route which proceeded north along the west side of the Indus River.[242]

The monasteries continued as a chain up the Indus, via Sue Vihar, linking the concentration of Buddhist sites in Sind with those in the Gandhara region and, via the Khyber Pass, to Balkh.[243] The terminus of the trade route in Gandhara was not only Buddhist around the time of the conquest but was governed for Yaśovarman of Kanauj (ca., A.D. 720-53) by Tikina, a devout Buddhist who also served as "superintendent of trade routes (mârgapati)."[244] Thus Buddhist merchants from Sind who were travelling north along this route would be assured of a welcome. The discovery of a gold coin of Yaśovarman along with silver

Arabo-Sasanian coins at the Buddhist stûpa of Manikyala evinces the importance of the route and its Buddhist connections.[245]

Not only were many of the Buddhist monasteries in Sind located along trade routes, but the recovery of coin hoards in their archaeological remains is strong evidence of monastic involvement in mercantile enterprises. These hoards have been uncovered at all Buddhist sites in Sind which have been extensively excavated and studied: Mirpur Khas, Depar Ghangro, Qasim Kirio, Mohenjo-daro, Jhukar, Sudheranjo-daro.[246] At Mirpur Khas, in addition to the coins, a statue of a man holding a money bag in his right hand was found; it may well represent, as Cousens suggests, a wealthy patron of the monastery.[247] In the Buddhist compound at Depar Ghangro, the Sâwandî of the Muslim historians, a number of lapidaries' houses have been located, evincing the importance of this industry to the monastery.[248] The semi-precious stones--carnelian, chalcedony, amethystine quartz, haematite, rock crystal, lapis lazuli, onyx--which are not native to Sind must have been imported and then cut, polished, and drilled by the Buddhist artisans of Depar Ghangro.[249]

While the situation of Buddhism is relatively unambiguous, it is much more difficult to isolate a particular class composition associated with Sindî Hinduism. While merchants or artisans are occasionally mentioned without any indication of religious affiliation,[250] they are never cited in connection with or in lists of individuals or groups identifiably Hindu. This negative literary evidence suggests that Hinduism, unlike Buddhism, was

not strongly dependent on these classes for its support. More positively, members of this religion are referred to in Muslim sources on Sind as rulers, administrators, soldiers, and priests.[251] Although the sources are largely silent on rural Sind, there is some evidence to indicate that the primary support for the Brahmin dynasty came from the rural sector. Chach b. Sîlâ'ij had his original power base in a temple situated in the rural hinterland (mazâri^{c}) around Arôr.[252] Indeed, Chach's brother Chandar was reluctant to leave the countryside to take up an administrative position in the city, as requested by his brother.[253] Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim confirmed the appointment of rural Brahmins as revenue collectors and officers, following the testimony of Sindîs that such an arrangement had been customary in the previous administration.[254] Consonant with their rural origins and support, the Brahmin rulers of Sind displayed a certain amount of antagonism and contempt towards inter-regional commerce. After the Arabs had conquered the port of Daybul, Dâhir replied with derision that it was unimportant since the city was "merely the residence of merchants (tujjâr) and artisans (ṣunnâ^{c})."[255]

Perhaps the strongest intimation of the rural basis of Sindî Hinduism lies in the archaeological evidence. As noted earlier, when Hiuen Tsiang visited Sind not long before the Arab conquest, he came across some 273 Hindu temples in the region.[256] However, while the remains of Buddhist structures are relatively plentiful in Sind, only one Hindu temple of the period (at Daybul) has so far been uncovered.[257] The logical inference is that the Hindu temples mentioned by the Chinese

pilgrim were, for the most part, built of perishable materials. Thus, in sharp contrast to the large, capital intensive Buddhist structures which have survived, the Hindu temples were probably in the main village temples (like that of the family of Chach) built of the type of unstable, low quality materials generally adopted in rural construction.

I am not arguing here that all Buddhists were merchants and artisans or vice versa. There were surely Hindu merchants and rural, non-mercantile Buddhists as well. Nevertheless, the primary Arabic and Persian sources along with the archaeological material indicate a clear differential between the class basis of the two major religions of Sind. Buddhism, unlike Hinduism, tended in Sind to be vitally associated with the mercantile sector of the economy.

<u>Inter-regional trade</u>. There are two further points to make before turning our attention back to the issues of collaboration and conversion. First, it is apparent that the trade of importance to mercantile Buddhism was inter-regional trade, based on Sind's advantageous geographic position straddling several important trade routes. Second, there are indications that the volume and importance of inter-regional trade to the Sindî economy had declined in the period just before the Arab conquest. Both of these points have important implications.

In terms of volume and value of goods passing in transit through Sind, the crucial routes were those connecting Central Asia and China with the West.[258] It was Sind's position as an

entrepot midway between these areas which gave the main fillip to its transfer trade. The east-west trade through Sind was of considerable antiquity. Agatharchides (second century B.C.) writes of merchants from the Indus Delta port of Potana (a variation of Patala) visiting the Fortunate Islands (Socotra).[259] About the same time, Chang Ch'ien (d. 114 B.C.), an ambassador of the Chinese emperor Wu, on examining a number of articles for sale in Bactria, was informed by the salesmen: "Our merchants go to buy them in the markets of Shen-tu [Sind]."[260]

Greek, Latin, Chinese, and Indic sources all refer to the inter-regional trade cycled through Sind in the pre-conquest period. Apollonius (first century B.C.) is said to have actually stopped at the Sindî port of Patala on his voyage from India to the Euphrates, suggesting that it was a regular stop along this important maritime trade route.[261] Indeed, Pliny the Elder and Strabo give the distances by land between Patala and the Caspian Gates and by sea between Patala and the Persian Gulf and Arabia, implying the existence of trade routes between these areas.[262] The most important Greek source on Sind, however, is the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, an account of the geography and trade of the Indian Ocean written sometime between A.D. 90 and 115 by an anonymous sailor-merchant residing in the Red Sea region.[263] At this time, the Sindî port of Barbaricum (possibly the Scythian name for Patala) was one of the two main ports of northern India, the other being Barygaza (Broach) in Gujarat. According to the Periplus, costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, and indigo were exported

westwards from Barbaricum.[264] The presence of turquoise and lapis lazuli in this list reminds one of the previously mentioned semiprecious stones imported into Sind and processed by the Buddhist artisans of the monastery of Depar Ghangro. In any case, with the probable exception of cotton cloth and indigo, all these exports must have originated outside Sind, primarily Central Asia and China.[265] Moreover, while Roman coins were exported to other parts of India, only gold and silver plate were sent to the Sindî port.[266] As Gobinda Lal Adhya has suggested, the imporation of bullion and not coins into Barbaricum is strong evidence that its trade, unlike that of Indian ports, was primarily transit and not terminal.[267] That is, the bullion would have been sent on as payment for goods in transit to those areas such as Central Asia and China where the Roman coins were not acceptable as legal tender.

The Chinese sources for this period are also aware of the commercial importance of Sind as an entrepot. The Ch'ien Han Shu (written ca. A.D. 100) refers to a number of ambassadors from Chi-Pin (the Kuṣâṇa controlled trans-Indus region) travelling to China. According to this source, the Sindîs were "all mean men carrying on commerce. They wish to open up commercial relations for the sake of the trade."[268] Notwithstanding their meanness, the Chi-Pin merchants were allowed to pursue their trade, and envoys were exchanged every few years. The Hou Han Shu (written ca. A.D. 445) notes the trade of the people of Ta Ts'in (the Roman Orient) with the Indus region,

> . . . par la voie de mer; (dans ce commerce) le gain est de dix pour un. Les gens de ce pays sont honnêtes et

francs; en affaires, ils n'ont pas deux prix.[269]

As previously mentioned, Indic sources frequently refer to the trade routes passing through Sind, primarily those centred around Roruka (Arôr) and proceeding either westwards across the desert or northwards up the Indus and on into Central Asia. In addition, an inscription found at the Deccan monastic complex at Nasik records the dedication of a cave temple by a rich Buddhist merchant named Yonaka Dhammadeva who travelled there from the town of Datâmitî in Sauvîra (the usual Indic name for the area of Sind east of the Indus River).[270] The funding of a temple in the Deccan by a wealthy Buddhist merchant from Sind suggests a relatively regularized commerce between these areas and its Buddhist basis. The Buddhist Milinda-Pañha refers to regular maritime trade between Sauvîra and Surat, Bengal, the Coromandal Coast, the Malay Peninsula, China, and Alexandria in Egypt.[271] The ideal Buddhist city (dhamma-nagara) of this Pali text contains not only bazaars, bankers, merchants, and artisans, but is filled with people from Sind (the port of Alexandria on the Indus), China, Bactria, Gandhara, and other places.[272]

A trade route through Sind held numerous advantages for merchants involved in the East-West commerce. There were four major stages to the overland silk route: from China to the Pamirs, from the Pamirs to the Merv oasis, from Merv to Seleucia, and from Seleucia to the Roman frontier.[273] The third and fourth stages with their respective tarifs could be circumvented by transporting the goods overland to Taxila and down the Indus

River to the Sindî ports and hence westwards by sea. This route would bypass Parthian and later Sasanian territories, states which were often unreliable, monopolistic, and expensive.[274] In addition, maritime transport was often preferred during this period on the grounds that it was cheaper than land transport, even if the distance was somewhat greater.[275] Of all the ports in the Indian subcontinent, those of Sind were the closest to the overland Central Asian trade routes. Shipment via Sind had the added advantage of low-cost riverine transportation on the long, wide, and navigable Indus River which ran from Gandhara all the way to the Indian Ocean ports of Sind.

The crucial inter-regional transit trade which cycled through Sind and held such importance for the Buddhist community was adversely affected in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. as a result of a number of interconnected factors, both external and internal to Sind. International events, over which Sindî Buddhists had little control, impinged on the transit trade from Central Asia and China, especially the trade in silk. By the sixth century A.D., the Sasanians had been able to monopolize both the maritime and overland silk trade westwards, to the disadvantage of the ports of Sind and the Red Sea.[276] The Byzantines attempted various stratagems to circumvent this monopoly (which drastically raised the cost of silk and created a drain of capital) and reestablish direct communications with India (and hence China) via the Red Sea. The emperor Justinian (A.D. 527-65) negotiated with the Ethiopian Axumites to buy silk from the

Indian ports and resell it to the Byzantines.[277] According to Procopius, the plan failed when the Persians managed to monopolize all the silk appearing in the Indian markets.[278] In any case, the introduction of silkworms into the Byzantine empire in A.D. 551 and the subsequent proliferation of silk factories there solved Byzantine's silk problem, but must have had a deleterious effect on what trade in silk still passed westwards through Sind.[279]

The seventh century A.D. brought further problems. The expansion of the Arabs may have diminished the volume of East-West trade cycled through Sind, at least until the Arabs had managed to integrate the Persian commercial routes.[280] The Arab expansion into Central Asia certainly inhibited the movement of goods along the silk route: two Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Hsun-Chao and I-Tsing, refer to the Arab blockage in the region of Bactria of the overland trade route from India to China in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D.[281] Further east, the expansion of the Tibetans, who held Kashgar from A.D. 670 to 692, threatened and partly closed the overland trade route in that region, further accentuating the tendency, already observable, for Chinese goods to travel westwards on the maritime route via Ceylon.[282] The extent of the closure of the overland route is particularly evident in the itineraries of Buddhist monks travelling beteen China and India: while earlier the preferred route had been by land, by the latter half of the seventh century A.D. the vast majority were proceeding by sea.[283] There was still trade between India,

China, and the West, but it was primarily maritime and centred on Ceylon. Since the major economic advantage of Sind lay in the location of its riverine system and seaport as the closest maritime transport to the overland trade route, it did not benefit greatly from this restructured maritime commerce.

At the same time, the importance of inter-regional commerce to the total Sindî economy was declining with the concomitant feudalization of the area.[284] This process accelerated in the seventh century with the usurpation of the Brahmin Chăch b. Sîlâ'ij whose family, as noted, was attached to a Hindu temple in the rural regions of Upper Sind. The country of Sind itself was divided into four separate administrative divisions, each with a governor (malik) residing in his own capital.[285] According to the Chachnâmah, the primary duty of each governor was to safeguard his own province and feudal estates (iqṭâᶜât).[286] The use of the latter term suggests that the state had farmed out its land revenue on a regular basis. There is no reason to doubt the historicity of the Chachnâmah here (although the use of the term iqṭâᶜ for such an early period is anomalous). As Hiuen Tsiang observed, "the governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support."[287] Certainly, at the time of the Arab conquest, various rural fiscal and administrative rights adhered to the local Brahmins.[288] The Chachnâmah also refers to, but does not elaborate on, a sort of feudal aristocracy (called variously dihqânân, ra'îsân, muqaddamân) who held administrative

and fiscal positions of authority in the villages.[289]

In keeping with their rural origins, the Brahmin kings who ruled Sind at the time of the Arab conquest had little apparent understanding of, or concern for, inter-regional commerce. When "pirates," operating from the port of Daybul, attacked and seized the merchandise of a fleet of Arab boats proceeding to the Middle East from the main entrepot of East-West trade in Ceylon, Dâhir b. Chach proved unwilling or unable to make the restitutions the Arabs requested: "This is the work of a band of pirates (duzdân), no one is more powerful than they are. They do not accept our authority either."[290] Dâhir's defense and subsequent actions are of some interest, especially when seen in contrast to the Sindî Buddhist response to the same incident. It is clear that his plea of noninvolvement is not acceptable. After all, the "pirates" were residents of the port of Daybul which, Muslim sources make clear, was part of his domain; his son Jaysîyah was the governor of Daybul at the time of the piracy; and, moreover, the contents of the Arab fleet were confiscated and the Muslim passengers incarcerated in the city's prison.[291] The Arabs subsequently made three attempts to seize the port, twice being defeated by the forces of Dâhir, before finally succeeding the third time.[292] At all times, Dâhir's forces were in clear control of the city and formed the main opposition to the Arabs.

The incident at Daybul (which formed the casus belli for the Arab conquest of Sind) illustrates, at the minimum, Dâhir's lack of interest in providing security for inter-regional

commerce. Indeed, it is even possible that a portion of the income of the state (or even of Dâhir) derived from the "pirates" operating out of Daybul. Dâhir may have felt that the immediate income generated from official or semiofficial "piracy" was more important than the long-range or theoretical benefits of a regularized commerce. In any case, he did not hold a high opinion of the value of commerce. When Daybul had been finally conquered by the Arabs, Dâhir wrote Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim: "You should know that the fort of Daybul which you have conquered is merely the residence of merchants and artisans."[293] It is clear from his reply that the Sindî king considered merchants and artisans as unimportant to his policy which, as noted, was based on the rural north and his feudal assignees.

The attitude of the Buddhists of Nîrûn to these events occurring at Daybul contrasts sharply to that of Dâhir. Sundur, the Buddhist governor of the city, dispatched two of his Buddhist compatriots to the court of al-Ḥajjâj in order to apologize for and dissociate themselves from the piracy at Daybul.[294] They offered to remit a tribute in regular installments and received in return a written treaty from the governor of ᶜIrâq. It was these same Buddhists who, when the Arabs arrived a few years later, opened the gates of their city and "bought and sold with the soldiers."[295] Clearly, they perceived that their own best interests were not served by the shortsighted policies of Dâhir.

<u>Collaboration reconsidered</u>. The century before the Arab conquest brought about certain changes in the socio-economic

situation in Sind which would have had a differential impact on Buddhists and Hindus. The decline in inter-regional trade--of primary importance to urban, mercantile Buddhists--would have led to a concomitant decline in Buddhist accumulation of mercantile surpluses. Hindus, whose socio-economic base was primarily rural, would not have been as susceptible. Moreover, the antagonism of the Brahmin dynasty specifically towards regularized inter-regional commerce (as evidenced by the piracy at Daybul) would have tended further to exacerbate the Buddhist situation and to deter Buddhists dependent on this commerce from the full-hearted support of the dynasty. That is, there is good reason to believe that the urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind were not satisfied with their socio-economic situation under the Brahmin dynasty. They were thus (unlike the majority of Hindus) in a situation where they might welcome some action which might improve their fortunes.

The incorporation of Sind into the Arab empire, a rapidly expanding trade empire, held out certain advantages to a mercantile people involved in inter-regional commerce: the reopening of the overland trade route through Central Asia to China, the regularization of the disrupted maritime commerce (both Indic and Chinese) passing through Sind, and the access to the vital markets of the Middle East.

Certainly, from the Arab side, trade issues were important considerations in their decision to invade Sind. The security of the maritime route eastwards was threatened by the seizure at Daybul of a fleet of Arab boats involved in this trade

and the refusal of the government of Sind to take some remedial action to curtail the intervention. If Sind could be absorbed by the Arabs, it would solve the problem of the insecure maritime trade routes in the Indus Delta region and give the Arabs an entrepot in the east. Al-Ḥajjâj, however, had even larger ambitions. The invasion of Sind was only one part of an audacious two-pronged movement aimed at expanding Arab influence and trade on the entire eastern front. The governor of ᶜIrâq had dispatched Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim to the Indus region and Qutaybah b. Muslim to Central Asia with the written orders that whoever reached China first would be its governor.[296] The two fronts were part of a single, unified campaign. Troops and materials were even exchanged between the two armies during the ensuing military operations.[297]

While the drive on China via Sind has sometimes been seen as hyberbole or geographic ignorance on the part of al-Ḥajjâj, if one views the eastern front in economic terms, there is nothing unsound about attempting to control the Central Asian and Chinese overland trade by invading by way of the Indus Delta and Central Asia at the same time. Sind had been a major entrepot of the overland trade due to the riverine connections between Central Asia and the port of Daybul. The fortunes of Sind had in the past (with the Kuṣâṇas) and would again in the future (with the British) become enmeshed in the global politics of inter-regional commerce.[298]

The parties directly concerned with the two-pronged Arab expansion were aware of the potential dangers and opportunities

it provided. The Tibetans entered into a loose alliance with the Arabs to control the entire overland trade route; they would secure the eastern sector and the Arabs the western.[299] The Chinese acted quickly to protect their interests in these regions. They dispatched troops against both the Tibetans and the Arabs in Central Asia, exchanged envoys and promises of aid with various kings of North India, and sent military assistance to the king of Kashmir in order to guard against an Arab thrust north from Sind through Kashmir to join up with the Arab or Tibetan forces in Central Asia.[300]

As far as Sind is concerned, the Buddhist envoys from Nîrûn had been informed by al-Ḥajjâj before the conquest that the Arabs intended to invade Sind "up to the border of China."[301] With their long history of trade relationships with Central Asia and China, the urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind must have immediately realized the possibilities inherent for their class in the Arab eastern front and taken them into account in opting for collaboration. That is, the urban, mercantile Buddhists may have hoped that the Arab conquest would reopen inter-regional trade routes, both maritime and overland, and hence benefit their class and, indirectly, their religion. They would have had good reason to perceive that their mercantile interests would be better served under an Arab trade empire (perhaps one allied with Tibet) than under an isolationist Brahmin dynasty with little interest in a regularized inter-regional commerce. Action taken in support of such a perception would easily take the form of collaboration with the Arabs.

Conversion reconsidered. Buddhist expectations of the revival of inter-regional trade and the mercantile sector of the economy were certainly fulfilled during the Arab period. The political and economic unity of the entire area from Sind to North Africa under the Umayyads and ᶜAbbâsids integrated the trade routes from Sind westwards and must have contributed towards the revival of the mercantile sector within Sind.[302] Certainly, the capital generated in Arab Sind was of a considerable volume. According to a detailed list of the estimated revenue of the ᶜAbbâsid provinces prepared for Yaḥyá b. Khâlid al-Barmakî in the early part of the caliphate of Hârûn al-Rashîd (170-93/786-809), Sind was expected to yield 11,500,000 dirhams, with Mukrân adding a further 400,000 dirhams.[303] This figure compares quite favourably with other outlying provinces (e.g., Sîstân, 4,600,000, Kirmân, 4,200,000, Jurjân, 12,000,000). Over and above the cash assessment, Sind also remitted a large amount of food stuffs, spices (aloe, cloves, nutmeg), textiles, slippers, and elephants.

Muslim geographers writing of Arab Sind frequently contrast the intemperate climate of the region with the importance of the trade, even suggesting that Sind's sole advantage lay in its function as a commercial entrepot.[304] The city of Quṣdâr had a special sector (called Bûdîn) set aside for merchants travelling to and from Khurâsân, Fârs, Kirmân, and India.[305] Caravans proceeded overland between Sind and Central Asia, either directly from Multân or from Manṣûrah via Quṣdâr and the Bolan Pass;[306] between Sind and Sîstân and Fârs (and on to the Middle

East) via Mukrân;[307] between Sind and Tibet, Kashmir, and other parts of India.[308] The geographers also note the resumption of inter-regional trade with China via Sind. Ibn Khurradâdhbih gives a detailed itinerary of the maritime route from Baṣrah to Daybul and on to India and China.[309] He also notes that it is two months' voyage by sea from Armâbîl (a variation of Armâ'îl), the second port of Sind, to China.[310] Jewish merchants who specialized in the inter-regional trade between Europe, the Middle East, and Asia travelled to and from China via Sind, either along the maritime route (by way of the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea) or overland via Mukrân.[311]

Moreover, the archaeological and numismatic evidence bears witness to a sizeable commerce passing through Sind from the Islamic heartlands and China, especially in the third/ninth century. Recent excavations have uncovered several thousand coins of the Arab period at Banbhore, the site of Daybul, including items minted at Samarqand, Wâsiṭ, Miṣr, Ardashîr-Khurray, Taymarah, Marw, and Baṣrah.[312] Similar coins, not yet adequately studied or readily available, have been located at other Arab period ruins in Sind.[313] The large volume of Arab coins uncovered, in comparison to pre-Islamic coins, suggests that the circulation of capital through Sind actually increased during the early Arab period. Moreover, pottery wares of the Sâmarrâ, Fusṭâṭ, and Samarqand types have been discovered in the Arab period debris at Daybul, Jhukar, and the urban complex of Brahmanâbâd-Manṣûrah-Maḥfûẓah.[314] Likewise, Chinese Dusun jars and decorative stoneware of the third/ninth century (similar to

that found at the port of Sîrâf) have been located in large quantities at Daybul, Khaira Kot (the Arab Qanbalî, near the port of Armâbîl), and Brahmanâbâd-Manṣûrah.[315]

While the inter-regional commerce cycled through Sind did revive during the Arab period, it was a trade with several critical, interrelated differences, at least from the perspective of the urban, mercantile Buddhists. In brief, the restored trade generally emphasized alternate trade routes, was supported by different institutions, and, most importantly, became the monopoly of a competitive urban, mercantile elite. These factors were to have a negative impact on those Buddhists of Sind who accumulated surplus, directly or indirectly, through inter-regional commerce.

As previously observed, the trade of importance to Sindî Buddhists had been that which was routed between Central Asia and the West. The Buddhist connections along this trade route in Central Asia had given the Buddhist merchants of Sind an advantage through their access to commercial facilities and intelligence. Their competitive edge in the trade to and from this region would have declined progressively as Central Asia--in particular, the entrepot of Balkh--was absorbed politically by the Arabs and gradually became Muslim.[316] Moreover, a major advantage of the transit route from Central Asia westwards via Sind had been the cost-efficient circumvention of a hostile and monopolistic Îrân. With Îrân integrated economically and politically into the Muslim empire, a detour by way of the

Indus Valley would no longer be as necessary or desirable. Goods could move directly from Balkh to the cities of Îrân, ᶜIrâq, and points further west. To be sure, as long as Sind intervened between Central Asia and India, the trade of goods produced in these areas would necessarily travel via Sind. The mercantile surplus generated by this transit trade would necessarily be limited, however, to the demand generated within the respective regions, and the profit margins would probably be less than the previous transit trade to and from the markets of the West.

More seriously, the transfer role of Sindî Buddhists was minimalized as the Arabs gained their own trade expertise in eastern commerce and travelled directly from the Middle East to trade with India, Southeast Asia, and China. During the third/ninth century, the maritime trade to Southeast Asia and China was dominated by Muslim (with the occasional Jewish) merchants who built entrepot facilities in these areas, connecting with trade networks and distribution facilities westwards.[317] Hence, while the Chinese trade by way of Sind was restored, this trade was now almost entirely maritime and not overland and in the hands of Muslim not Buddhist merchants.

The only apparent route where Buddhists still retained an apparent advantage was with the Râṣṭrakûṭa domains in India. It is significant in this respect that the sole Buddhist monastery in Sind where Arab coins have been found (undated and now lost) is at Mirpur Khas, located on the trade route to Râṣṭrakûṭa ruled Gujarat.[318] And, as noted, there was a community of Buddhist monks from Sind residing in Gujarat in the third/ninth

century.[319] However, even in this case, Buddhist monks in Sind would have been unable to monopolize Râṣṭrakûṭa products exported via Sind through the Buddhist connection. There were large communities of Arab Muslim merchants actually residing in the important ports of the Râṣṭrakûṭas (i.e., Sandân, Ṣaymûr, Kanbâyah, Sûbârah).[320] The Muslim merchants here had their own jâmi^c masjids and were governed by a Muslim hunarman (the local equivalent of a qâḍî) according to Muslims laws and with the authority and consent of the Râṣṭrakûṭa king (called Ballahrâ by the Arabs).[321] Consequently, if the Arabs could obtain Râṣṭrakûta exports directly from their producers in India, there would be no need to transship via Sind and no financial advantage to the Sindî Buddhists from their commercial and monastic connections.

An important part of the pre-Muslim Buddhist commercial network had been the credit and transfer facilities provided by the monasteries. It is clear that, for the most part, the trade which revived under the Arabs bypassed the Buddhist monasteries of Sind. As previously mentioned, while pre-Islamic coins are relatively plentiful in Sindî Buddhist structures, Arab coins have been found only in the ruins of the monastery at Mirpur Khas. If the mercantile activities of these monasteries had continued, than post-conquest coins found in their remains would be as plentiful as previously. Moreover, the Arabs superseded the Buddhist monopoly on inter-regional facilities by building caravansaries of their own along the major inter-regional trade routes. Thus, for example, while the pre-Muslim inscription found at the Buddhist monastery of Tor-Dherai records the

erection of a water tank for the use of travellers, the Tochi Valley inscription, dated 242/856, records the dedication of a tank for the same purpose by a Muslim named Ḥayy b. ᶜAmmâr.[322] There are other sites throughout Sind and Mukrân--although without inscriptions and hence difficult to date--which probably fulfilled the same function.[323] And recent excavations at Banbhore (Daybul) have shown traces of the foundation of a caravansary actually attached to the Arab period mosque of the city.[324] By the early third/ninth century, then, the Arabs were fulfilling some of the inter-regional trade functions previously provided by the Buddhist monasteries. This would adversely affect Buddhist participation in the restored trade by challenging their monopoly on credit and transportation facilities.

In addition, internal Buddhist industrial production at monasteries within Sind was supplanted by newly built Arab industrial sectors. Prior to the Arab conquest, the Buddhist monastery at Depar Ghangro (the Arab Sâwandî) had capitalized on the inter-regional trade in semiprecious stones by processing them in an extensive industrial area attached to the monastery.[325] The Arabs built special industrial quarters within the urban areas of Sind, probably for both indigenous consumption and to process materials for export.[326] The Buddhist ability to process the articles of inter-regional trade would have been affected by both the decline in their control of this commerce and the competition offered by the new Arab industrial facilities.

Finally, Muslims displaced Buddhists as the dominant

urban, mercantile class in Sind. The Arabs in Sind, as elsewhere during this period, were relatively urban in orientation.[327] They settled in existing cities, expanding them (e.g., Daybul),[328] and built new cities like Manṣûrah and Bayḍâ', which served as garrisons and administrative and trade centres.[329] In some cases, the new Arab cities completely replaced the old--as Manṣûrah did Brahmanâbâd[330]--or brought others into a state of decline.[331] Until the fourth/tenth century, the Arabs generally governed the rural areas of Sind by proxy from urban complexes through Brahmins or other indigenes.

The high culture of the urban areas was both Arab and Islamic. The urban architecture of the Arabs in Sind had little indigenous input, resembling instead that of Kûfah, Damascus, Wâsiṭ, or ᶜUmân.[332] The Arab rejection of the Sindî environment in their urban designs is particularly striking in contrast to later Muslim architecture in Sind which absorbed many regional motifs.[333] Furthermore, certain important Muslim institutions, such as mosques and schools, were located primarily in urban areas. At the time of the Arab conquest, al-Ḥajjâj ordered Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim to construct mosques in every major urban area (qaṣbah) of Sind.[334] The mosque at Daybul had a school attached to it, and this may have been the usual situation in Arab Sind.[335] The congregational mosque at Manṣûrah, a city built by the Arabs, was located in the middle of the main market, evincing the close relationship between this major Islamizing institution and both the city and the market.[336]

Moreover, the pan-Islamic inter-regional trade network

to which Sind had been linked by conquest was controlled, for the most part, by the Muslim mercantile bourgeoisie.[337] Not only were Muḥammad and many of his Companions merchants, but the Qur'ân and the traditions contain numerous passages referring to the positive value of commerce and trade.[338] Later jurists elaborated on the theme. Muḥammad al-Shaybânî, a Ḥanafite jurist of the third/ninth century, wrote a treatise entitled Kitâb al-kasb ("Book of Earnings") wherein he suggests that commerce is actually incumbent on Muslims by way of religious duty.[339] This perspective carried over into commercial law which acted to protect the mercantile interests of Muslim vis-à-vis non-Muslim merchants. According to a ruling attributed to the caliph ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭâb (13-23/634-44), a non-Muslim merchant who was subject of a Muslim state (i.e., a dhimmî) had to pay double the customs duty of a Muslim (5 percent rather than 2.5 percent) on goods with a value of over two hundred dirhams.[340] If consistently applied, this discriminatory customs regulation would have diminished the ability of the Buddhist merchants of Sind to compete equally with Muslims in large-scale (i.e., over two hundred dirhams) inter-regional commerce.

During the Umayyad and ᶜAbbâsid periods, there was a close relationship between the Muslim trading classes and Islamic religious learning. Indeed, the majority of the ᶜulamâ', the primary representatives and interpreters of textual Islam, were drawn from the ranks of the mercantile bourgeoisie.[341] A number of these religious scholars were directly involved

with the eastern commerce. Ibrâhîm b. Mâlik al-Bazzâz al-Baghdâdî (d. 264/877), for example, was both a traditionist and a merchant who travelled regularly between Sind and the Middle East in the course of his business.[342]

After the Arab conquest, the major merchants of Sind belonged as well to the larger cosmopolitan Muslim bourgeoisie. While ordinary Muslims in Sind dressed like their compatriot non-Muslims, the merchants of the region followed the fashions of ᶜIrâq and Fârs.[343] This suggests that they were either drawn from these regions or, as is more likely, accepted the cultural dictates of the larger pan-Islamic mercantile community as their exemplar. They were in Sind, but not really part of it. In addition, the language of the inter-regional trade passing through Sind was primarily Arabic and, to a leser extent, Persian (not Sindî, Sanskrit, or Pali).[344] To participate in the new inter-regional trade, then, was in many ways to become Arab, and if Arab then necessarily Muslim.

As a result of these factors, Sindî Buddhist merchants would have found it increasingly difficult to compete with Muslim merchants on an equal footing in the revived inter-regional commerce. And, as their share of the trade declined, so would their share of the accumulation of mercantile surpluses. To be sure, the Muslim domination of inter-regional commerce may have left the Buddhists to compete with the Hindus for the control of intra-regional commerce within Sind (i.e., supplying Sindî markets with Sindî goods). Here, however, the possibilities

of accumulating surplus would be less than in inter-regional commerce where the profit margin (and risk) was much higher. Hence, even if the Buddhists of Sind could have compensated their loss of inter-regional by increasing their representation in intra-regional commerce, they would still have experienced a relative decline in their overall share of accumulated mercantile surpluses.

What I am suggesting, then, is that the urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind (those affected by changes in the patterns of inter-regional commerce) experienced what sociologists of religion have called "relative deprivation."[345] The term has best been defined by David Aberle as

> . . . a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality. Where an individual or a group has a particular expectation and furthermore where this expectation is considered to be a proper state of affairs, and where something less than that expectation is fulfilled, we may speak of relative deprivation.[346]

It is important to bear in mind that the deprivation is relative and not absolute.[347] That is, the issue of importance is not the extent to which Buddhists possessed or did not possess mercantile surpluses in absolute terms, but the negative change in their share of the accumulation of such surpluses. The urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind were clearly not a disadvantaged or underprivileged group--what Neibuhr has called "the disinherited"[348]--either before or after the Arab conquest. Rather, as the foregoing analysis has made clear, they lost control of certain economic resources and capital which had previously belonged to them. Moreover, the term is being used here in its intra-group historical sense.[349] A person or a group is not

relatively deprived simply because he does not possess something another person or group does possess. An outcaste agricultural labourer, for example, may not own an estate, but he is not relatively deprived unless he or his group once formed a land-holding class and hence could legitimately expect to own land. That is, the concept holds an additional component of legitimate expectations.

While various forms of relative deprivation can be distinguished (Aberle refers to the deprivation of possessions, status, behaviour, and worth, while Glock writes of economic, social, organismic, ethical, and psychic forms),[350] the concern here has been so far solely with the economic type for which there is clear evidence. To extend the analysis, however, if it is true, as has been suggested, that urban, mercantile Buddhists collaborated with the Arabs under the expectation that the conquest would rejuvenate both the economy of Sind and their share of the accumulation of capital and this did not occur, then one can also speak of a relative deprivation in expectations.[351] Moreover, it is probable that there was a corresponding decline in social status among urban, mercantile Buddhists as their ability to allocate resources declined along with their accumulation of mercantile surpluses.

Not only had the objective socio-economic position of urban, mercantile Buddhists declined, but there was no indication that their fortunes, as Buddhists, would improve in the immediate or long-range future. Their situation was not simply a reflection of the state of the economy in Arab Sind. The socio-economic

deprivation of urban, mercantile Buddhists was not irremedial, as would have been the case if the deprivation had been general in Sind (e.g., as the result of a prolonged economic depression affecting all classes). For remedial action to be perceived as possible, relative deprivation must occur within a group but not within all groups.[352] As previously noted, the economy of Sind and inter-regional commerce did revive during the Arab period. That is, the relative control of the accumulation of mercantile surplus by the urban, mercantile Buddhists declined in a situation where the circulation of commercial capital passing through Sind actually increased. As a result, they could readily perceive the deterioration of their socio-economic position in religious terms as related to their belonging to the category non-Muslim since, as we have seen, the comparative reference group of urban, mercantile Muslims prospered during the same period.

Studies of the effects of relative deprivation in recent times have shown that persons or groups experiencing this state will attempt to take remedial action to alleviate it; the attempted solution may be either sacred (e.g., conversion) or secular (e.g., revolt).[353] As Rodney Stark has pointed out, in order for a religious option to be chosen as a solution for a situation of economic deprivation "it is necessary first that a religious perspective is a plausible option for the deprived persons in question."[354] While he is concerned with the choice between religious and secular solutions to absolute (not relative) economic deprivation in modern societies (where there are probably

more functional alternatives to religion than in early medieval Sind), it is clear that the religious solution of converting to Islam would have been a plausible option among those urban, mercantile Buddhists experiencing relative socio-economic deprivation in Arab Sind. They could perceive their condition of relative deprivation as related to their religious category "Buddhist" and not to their socio-economic class "merchant" since urban, mercantile Muslims did not undergo the same process. As a result, remedial action taken to resolve and ameliorate their situation would readily assume the form of adopting the belief system of the urban, mercantile Muslims.

I am thinking here of conversion as a process not simply an event. As a result of the pressures of relative deprivation, urban, mercantile Buddhists would tend to reorient themselves gradually to the milieu of their more successful class counterparts, the urban, mercantile Muslims. Conversion to Islam, then, would occur in time among those individuals who had changed their reference groups. As the socio-economic status and the ability to amass and reallocate resources increased among the new converts, thus proving the efficacy of the belief system and widening the immediate comparative reference group available, conversion would accelerate among the community of urban, mercantile Buddhists at large.

It should be emphasized that the conversion of urban, mercantile Buddhists to the ideology of their Islamic class counterparts would not necessarily entail a sudden or dramatic change in the basic structure of their belief system. The

Islamization of the Buddhist converts would have occurred gradually by way of such Muslim institutions as the mosque, the school system, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. In any case, as will become apparent in the next chapter, there was an apparent structural continuity in Sind between the form of Buddhism adhered to before conversion and the type of Islam adopted. The textualist perspectives of the Buddhist Sammitîya resurfaced in post-conquest Sind through the predominant adoption of the <u>aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth</u> ("proponents of tradition") interpretation of Islam.

The decline in the Buddhist share of the accumulation of mercantile capital would also have contributed to the deterioration of Buddhist institutions within Sind, in particular, the monastic system. The loss of a fiscal base was initially a result of new Arab trade patterns which, as noted, bypassed the credit and transport facilities of the monasteries. However, the deteriorating of the monastic system must have accelerated as the urban, mercantile Buddhists converted to Islam since large and continuous capital infusions were required to build and maintain its structures and institutions. If the monasteries were no longer able to generate sufficient working capital through their own credit and transport facilities, they would have had to rely increasingly on the laity for their support. The defection to Islam of the urban, mercantile Buddhists would limit the laic, capital resources available to the monasteries from the laity to the rural, non-mercantile Buddhists. And the amount of capital available from this sector would be substantially less.

Since the monastic system was crucial to Buddhism (it is difficult to conceive of Buddhism without the sangha), it is clear that the loss of a financially viable monastic system would further exacerbate the already precarious situation of Buddhism in Sind. In its reliance on a capital intensive monastic institution, Buddhism was thus in many ways more vulnerable to socio-economic pressures than that form of Hinduism based on a widely diffused caste of Brahmin ritual specialists. As the mercantile community converted and continued support capital was not forthcoming, monasteries would tend to fall into decay; monks would either emigrate to other parts of the Buddhist world, thus affecting the quality of literate Buddhism in Sind, or be absorbed back into the laity where they would be vulnerable to pressures to convert; and, finally, the Buddhist rural laity would be left without regularized normative institutional support.

While most important in terms of their financial and social support, the urban, mercantile Buddhists were not the only Buddhists in Sind. Rural Buddhists were adversely affected by both the defection of the urban, mercantile Buddhists to Islam and the collapse of supportive Buddhist institutions which had previously maintained a normative continuity in the Buddhist community of Sind. Those rural Buddhists with few urban, mercantile ties would probably have tended to be absorbed into the ritual system, perhaps along caste lines (their comparative reference group), of their rural Hindu counterparts. Alternatively, those Buddhists with ties of kinship, caste, or trade with the urban, mercantile Buddhists who were converting to Islam might

well attempt to maintain or raise their socio-economic status by converting to the new religion.

Persistence of Hinduism. The radical dissimilarity between the socio-economic bases of Hinduism and Buddhism in Sind should already be evident from the previous discussion. In sharp contrast to Buddhism, the primary class strength of Hinduism lay in the non-mercantile rural sector; what commerce existed would be primarily intra-regional, linked to the traditional exchange networks of the villages. Rural, non-mercantile Hindus would be less susceptible to conversion than urban, mercantile Buddhists since their socio-economic position was founded on a different basis and in a different sector which was not immediately penetrated or challenged by Islamic urbanism and mercantilism. The Arabs preferred to administer the rural regions of Sind indirectly from urban centres through the local dominant caste, often the same Brahmin officials who had previously fulfilled the same function under the Sîlâ'ij dynasty. As long as the taxes were forthcoming, the Arabs had little inclination to interfere at the rural level. As a result, rural, non-mercantile Hindus were less likely to undergo the process of relative deprivation since, with the exception of the primary governing class, Arab rule did not substantially alter their position for the worse.

Furthermore, unlike the capital intensive ~~and highly~~ centralized Buddhist monastic system, normative institutional Hinduism in Sind was linked to a diffuse network of Brahmin

ritual specialists capitalized on a rural basis. Due to its broader base, Hinduism would be much less susceptible than Buddhism to a radical dislocution of its fiscal and institutional viability. Buddhism had been adversely affected through the loss of urban, mercantile Buddhists and the decapitalization of the monastic system supportive of normative Buddhism; Hinduism, at least in Sind, did not have a similar dependency, and hence the effect of the defection to Islam of any urban, mercantile Hindus would have been minimalized in the religious system in general. In any case, as noted, Hinduism did not rely on the mercantile sector of the economy or on inter-regional commerce for the maintenance of its institutions. As a result, given the situation in Sind during the Arab period, the institutional support structures of Hinduism were simply more flexible than those of Buddhism.

Hinduism also proved flexible in developing specific legal procedures in response to the situation posed by the Arab occupation of Sind. This is particularly evident in the Devala-smṛti, a sparse legal text concerning the various procedures of śuddhi ("repurification") which was written in Sind sometime between A.D. 800 and 1000.[355] Devala was sitting on the banks of the Indus River when a number of Hindu sages approached him and asked for a ruling concerning the repurification of members of the four castes who had become polluted by association with the mlecchas ("non-Aryans"). The entire text of the smṛti contains his perceptions on this vexatious problem, of such importance

to Sindî Hindus. In short, he outlines a number of expiations and penances, graded according to caste, sex, and length of time in a state of impurity, whereby individuals could be re-admitted to the Hindu caste system.

> When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, cândâlas and robbers, are compelled to do dirty acts, such as killing cows and other animals or sweeping the leavings of the food (of Mlecchas) or eating the leavings of the food of Mlecchas or partaking of the flesh of asses, camels and village pigs, or having intercourse with their women, or are forced to dine with them, then the penance for purifying a dvijâti [twice-born] that has stayed for a month in this way is prâjâpatya, for one who has consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is cândrâyana or parâka; for one who stays a year . . . it is both cândrâyana and parâka; a Ŝûdra who stays (in this condition) for a month becomes pure by krcchrapâda; a Ŝûdra who stays a year should drink yâvaka [a barley dish] for half a month. The appropriate prâyaŝcitta [penance] should be determined by learned brâhmanas when a person has stayed . . . for over a year; in four years the person . . . is reduced to their condition (i.e., becomes a mleccha and there is no prâyaŝcitta for him).[356]

The last clause of this section of the Devala-smṛti suggests that after only four years of mleccha-pollution, the individual is himself considered a mleccha for caste purposes. This certainly is the understanding of the Prâyaŝcittaviveka which holds that only death will purify a caste Hindu after four years of such pollution.[357] However, in a later section of his Smṛti (verses 53-55), Devala provides an exception to the general rule by allowing persons to be repurified even up to twenty years as long as they had not actually performed any of the forbidden items themselves (e.g., killed or consumed cows).[358] But beyond these twenty years, in his view, there would be no further possibility of repurification.

Additional regulations (verses 47-52) were promulgated

with regard to the special situation of Hindu women in Arab Sind:

> The women folk of the four orders as well as those of other castes, who happen to become pregnant as a direct consequence of coming in contact with Mlecchas, or who happen to eat the forbidden dishes willingly or unwillingly, would become pure, by observing a krchhra sântâpana penance and by cleansing the private parts with clarified butter. The child born of such unions should be given away to others and must not be retained. The caste fellows too should reject such children for fear of causing a mixture of castes.[359]

Devala explains his rationale: the half-mleccha foetus was treated in legal terms as a foreign substance, like a thorn, in the woman's body; when it was removed, the woman, after due penance, was re-admitted to caste status.[360] The legal status of the child, on the other hand, was seen as a condition of impure mixed-caste status (pratiloma) and hence could not be retained either by the mother or her caste. Devala gives no indication of what happened to such rejected children; perhaps they were adopted by Muslims.

Brief though it is, the Devala-smrti is the only source written by a Hindu residing in Arab Sind which has survived. As such, it is extremely valuable as a corrective to the standard Arabic and Persian material and for what it tells us of Hinduism during the period. In the first place, Devala apprehended the Muslims of Sind in caste terms as both mlecchas ("non-Aryans," i.e., barbarians) and candâlas ("out-castes," especially those from mixed castes). There is some precedent in Sind for the usage of these terms relative to the Arab Muslims. According to the Chachnâmah, the Hindus of Sind explicitly described the Arabs as chandâlân (the Persian form of the Sanskrit candâla) cow-eaters (gâw-khwârân) at the time of the

conquest. Lâdî, the wife of the Brahmin Dâhir, was accused by the people of Arôr of having become polluted (âlûdah) through her association with the Arab cow-eating chandâlân.[361] The use of the term here and by Devala is highly significant. The smṛtis prohibited any of the higher castes from touching a caṇḍâla: if, by chance, anyone did so, even if the polluting touch was by wind or water, he or she had to undergo specific rites of purification.[362] By association, then, the Arabs were perceived in Sind as out-castes with a polluting agency harmful to those they encountered and for which due penance was prescribed.

While not found in the Muslim sources, the term mleccha was used occasionally in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the period to refer to the Arab Muslims. Nâgabhaṭa I, the Gurjara-Pratîhâra ruler, "is said to have defeated a mleccha force, who are also called "the destroyers of virtue."[363] The reference here is clearly to the extensive Arab raids made on North India during the governate of al-Junayd and his immediate successors.[364] The use of the term for the Arabs is also significant. Referring broadly to any foreign group of people not yet Brahmanized, mleccha was the usual epithet given the many non-Indian tribes who had invaded or filtered en masse into India, frequently via the Indus Valley: people like the Yavanas (Greeks), Âbhîras, Madrakas (the Arabic Mîdh), Hûṇas, Kuṣâṇas, and Śâkas.[365] Hence, there was a clear precedent available for perceiving and treating the Arab conquerors of Sind as just another in the long series of "barbarian" tribes to have previously entered Sind.

Indeed, it is possible that Devala's perception of the

Arab Muslim settlement in Sind as a question requiring caste clarification and boundary maintenance was aided by existing caste principles which considered the region of Sind itself to be a half impure location due to the fact that it was the usual route into India of invading peoples and, as a result, a large number of mlecchas and caṇḍâlas had made the region their home. According to the legendary sage Baudhyâyana, the inhabitants of Sindhu-Sauvîra (both banks of the Indus) were of mixed origin, i.e., caṇḍâlas, and hence those non-Sindî Hindus who visited the area must perform the rite of upanayana again on their return.[366] Devala himself is reputed to have said: "By going to Sindhu, Sauvîra, Surâṣṭra, the frontier provinces, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, and Andhra, one deserves to be purified again."[367] If Devala himself felt that to be in his homeland of Sind was a situation normally requiring purification, then he would surely be more receptive to the concept of repurification of Hindus from the pollution of the Muslims. To be in Sind for a Sindî Hindu was, in many ways, to be in a situation of semi-impurity in any case, even without the Muslim presence. Hence, there would be little cognitive difficulty in adapting to a further condition of pollution or to expanding established caste boundary maintenance devices to an altered situation.

By assimilating the newcomers into the Hindu world view as just another mleccha tribe of caṇḍâla outcastes, Devala was able to extend the existing caste regulations to the new reality of the Arab occupation of Sind. In so doing, he legitimized the interaction of the Muslim and Hindu communities of Sind, at least

from the perspective of the Hindus. If the Arab Muslims were simply another _mleccha_ group with their own ethnic gods and rituals, then they could be readily accomodated, indeed defused, within existing caste laws. This had been a successful policy previously: all former invaders of Sind had been assimilated into the caste system and had eventually become Hindu in religon, even though, like the Arabs, they had brought their own religion with them. Since there was no need to perceive the Arab Muslims as a special case, Hindus in Sind could interact or coexist with them, as long as they took due care to follow established caste principles and procedures. They may have been disgusting and barbaric, from the point of view of upper caste Hindus, but they were not the first or only such group in Sind.

Since the Arab Muslims were perceived as _mlecchas_ and _caṇḍâlas_, it follows that conversion to Islam was seen primarily as a case of caste contamination. It is even possible that Devala is distinguishing between the two terms: _mleccha_ referring to the Arab Muslims and _caṇḍâla_ to the indigenous converts, especially since the latter term was used primarily for castes of mixed origins. If this is the case, then conversion would have been seen as the intermixture of caste Hindus with the _mleccha_ Arab Muslims, a situation which produced _caṇḍâla_ indigenous Muslims. In any case, Devala makes no distinction between conversion and caste pollution by simple contact. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that Devala is referring in his regulations to the repurification both of Hindus who had become Muslim as well as those who simply had become polluted through association

with Muslims.[368] It is likely that Devala reflects a perception of Islam and of conversion to Islam general in the Hindu community of Sind and that, in consequence, there existed a considerable cognitive dissonance between Muslim and Hindu perceptions of conversion. While the Arab Muslims (not necessarily the indigenous Muslims) may have perceived conversion as entailing a radical change in beliefs and rituals on the part of the convert,[369] the Sindî Hindus may well have perceived conversion in the sense of changing certain rituals or, even more likely, adding other rituals (i.e., as a process of adhesion) to their own orthopraxy simply as a means of accomodating a superior force (in the limited sense of a successfully invading foreign ethnic group). Established caste regulations existed which permitted this form of adhesion and retrieval. Unless the Muslims of Sind could transform such a convert, through the Islamization process, into accepting a form of Islam within a certain permissible range, the discontinuity would remain and conversion would not be permanent.

As a result of the equation of conversion with caste contamination, Devala was able to provide for the repurification (_Śuddhi_) of converts to Islam from Hinduism via the extension of previously existing purificatory rites. It is significant that none of these penances were particularly stringent. To take an extreme case, an individual who had been in a _mleccha_ state via conversion to Islam for up to twenty years could be repurified by undergoing two _cândrâyaṇas_ ("the lunar penance"): i.e., diminishing his food daily by one mouthful during the dark half of the month, increasing it likewise in the bright half,

and bathing daily at the time of the three libations (morning, noon, and evening).[370] This is precisely the same penance required of those individuals who have unwittingly eaten garlic, leeks, or mushrooms, or of a twice-born man who has inadvertently swallowed the urine or ordure of a village camel.[371] The most arduous penance was reserved for a woman who had become pregnant, willingly or unwillingly, by a Muslim. This was the sântapana kṛcchra which required the woman to subsist on a diet of cow urine, cow dung, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, kuŝa grass, and fasting during one day and night.[372] This particular penance was the usual one required by the DharmaŜâṣtras for any unnatural sexual act or for stealing an item from another man's house.[373]

When the expiation for converting to Islam for twenty years is precisely the same as for eating garlic or leeks, the reabsorption of converts was not just a theoretical matter, but very possible. A convert to Islam could easily change his mind and, after performing a few slightly inconvenient penances, return to his original religion and caste ranking. Indeed, Devala displays a remarkable flexibility throughout his smṛti, taking a business as usual attitude towards the Arab occupation of Sind. The legitimization of interaction between the Hindu and Muslim communities of Sind and the ability to reabsorb easily those Hindus who had personally converted to Islam were both contributory factors in the resiliency of Hinduism during the Arab period.

Devala's solution to the problem of Hindus living in

a Muslim state was unique and radical. Bîrûnî (d. after 442/1050), while noting the minority position (probably that of Devala in Sind) that Hindu converts to Islam could be readmitted to their caste and religion, tells us that his usual Brahmin informants categorically rejected this possibility, a position Bîrûnî regards as normative in Hinduism.[374] That careful historian is certainly correct: up to the modern period, Hindu law generally refused to countenance the readmittance to caste and religion of individuals who had abandoned Hinduism.[375] Indeed, it was the rediscovery of the Devala-smṛti in the late nineteenth century A.D. which gave the modern Śuddhi movement (aimed primarily at Muslims) its classical referent for reconversion.[376] Devala's legal prescriptions for the Hindus residing in Muslim Sind display a remarkable, indeed unprecedented in Hindu-Muslim relations in South Asia, ability to respond creatively and flexibly to the altered circumstances. It was this flexibility in combination with the previously mentioned socio-economic factors which were the primary determinants permitting Hinduism to remain relatively impervious to the pressures of conversion.

NOTES

[1]For a general overview of the conversion literature on India see Peter Hardy, "Modern European and Muslim Explanations of Conversion to Islam in South Asia: A Preliminary Survey of the Literature," JRAS, 1977, pp. 177-206.

[2]While Elliot was the most influential, he was not the first to reveal this bias on Arab Sind. T. Postans, Personal Observations on Sindh: The Manners and Customs of Its Inhabitants, and Its Productive Capabilities (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843; reprint ed., Karachi: Indus Publications, 1973) notes that during the Arab conquest "the most unrelenting cruelty and intolerance appears to have been exercised," p. 152, and that "the fanaticism of the Moslems always induces them to make converts instead of ameliorating the condition of the people," p. 160. When he encounters nasty guard dogs in Sindî villages, he observes, p. 34, "they are true Moslems these dogs."

[3]Most of the authors mentioned in this section (e.g., Titus and Majumdar) used the translations of Elliot.

[4]Elliot, 3:11.

[5]Ibid., 3:30.

[6]Ibid., 3:66.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., 3:33.

[10]Ibid., 3:60.

[11]Ibid., 3:77.

[12]Ibid., 3:79.

[13]See pp. 110-11 above.

[14]Elliot, 3:79.

[15]Ibid., 3:69.

[16]H. B. E. Frere, "Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Sind," JBBRAS 5 (1854):356, believes that the Buddhist sculpture found at Jherruck was fragmented "by the Mahomeden Iconoclasts who destroyed the temple." No rationale or evidence for this conclusion is given.

[17]D. R. Bhandarkar, "Saidpur," pp. 91-92. According to Sukumar Dutt, p. 188, Buddhist stūpas in India rarely possessed relics. Nevertheless, relic caskets have been uncovered in Sind at Mirpur Khas and Tor-Dherai (see appendix A).

[18]Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, "Trial Excavations at Sirar," ASI-AR, 1929-30, p. 161. Cf., Cousens, p. 10: "The Arabs destroyed but they did not build. The first invaders from the west, full of zeal for the spread of their newly established religion, laid a heavy hand upon the religious buildings of the Hindus and Buddhists."

[19]This perspective reaches a state of ludicrousness in the voluminous and authoritative Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, A volume, pp. 89-91, 158, compiled in the first decade of this century. Here we find that conversion not only took place by force but that the "fervid and fanatical" nature of the religion Islam is the main explanatory factor for the high incidence of what is termed "insanity" in Sind.

[20]Murray Thurston Titus, Islam in India and Pakistan: A Religious History of Islam in India and Pakistan, The Heritage of India Series, 2d ed., rev. (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1959). This work is frequently cited as a standard history of Muslim India and hence cannot be dismissed simply as missionary spleen.

[21]Ibid., p. vi.

[22]Ibid., p. 10.

[23]Ibid., p. 17. Presumably illustrating his lack of prejudice, Titus explains here that the Arab treatment of non-Muslims in Sind might "all seem cruelly intolerant to us today; but they were considered just and reasonable by those who made them their philosophy and way of life."

[24]Ibid., pp. 21,31.

[25]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[26]Ibid., p. 19. Cf., p. 31.

[27]The alleged mass circumcision and conversion of the Brahmins of Daybul frequently occurs in the secondary literature on Arab Sind. Wherever this information originated, it was not in the primary sources consulted for this study. The nearest corollary is the incident mentioned in the Chachnâmah (pp. 108-10) where a Brahmin from Daybul, named either Qiblah b. Mahatrâ'ij or Sûd-dêv became a Muslim. Perhaps he was circumcised, but if so it was neither forced (nor solicited) nor mass circumcision.

[28]Titus, p. 22.

[29]Ibid., p. 20. There is no evidence that the Arabs destroyed any temples near Brahmanâbâd. While the indigenes of the area did ask Muhammad for permission to repair their temple (see the discussion above pp. 111-12), this was the same temple whose abbot had told Chach, before the Arab conquest, that "due to the exigencies of time, damage has appeared, and it must needs be repaired" (Chachnâmah, p. 46).

[30]Ibid., p. 17.

[31]Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, ed., The History and Culture of the Indian People, vol. 3: The Classical Age (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954), p. 456 (Majumdar wrote the sections on Arab Sind). Also see his "The Arab Invasion of India," Dacca University Bulletin 15 (1931):1-60, reprint ed., The Arab Invasion of India (Lahore: Sh. Mubarak Ali, 1974); "Early Muslim Settlements in India," in Sarûpa-Bhâratî or the Homage of Indology, being the Dr. Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume, ed. Jagan Nath Agrawal and Bhim Dev Shastri, Vishveshvaranand Institute Series, no. 6 (Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Institute, 1954), pp. 265-70. For similar views see Brijendra Nath Sharma, Social and Cultural History of Northern India, c. 1000-1200 A.D. (New Delhi: Abhinav, 1972), pp. 125-31, and Baij Nath Puri, The History of the Gurjara-Pratihâras (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Limited, 1957), pp. 116-17.

[32]R. C. Majumdar, History, p. 453.

[33]Ibid., p. 456.

[34]Ibid., p. 455.

[35]Ibid., p.456. This assertion is based on a misunderstanding of a report found in Balâdhurî, p. 444, which refers to the loss during the governorship of al-Hakam b. ᶜAwânah al-Kalbî (113-20/731-37) of the territories of India (Hind not Sind) previously conquered by al-Junayd (104-10/722-28). Majumdar has not drawn the distinction between Hind and Sind, between conquest and conversion, or between Islam and the Arabs. A revolt is not

necessarily apostasy. In any case, even in Sind, it is highly unlikely that at this date, only twenty years after the initial conquest, large numbers of Sindis had been converted, either forcibly or peacefully.

[36]C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India (Being a History of India from 600 to 1300 A.D.), 3 vols. (Poona: Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 1921-26), 1:168. Hence, in his view, all subsequent indigenous Sindî states (e.g., the Sammah or Sûmrah) are seen as foreign simply because their rulers were Muslim.

[37]Ajwani, p. 6. Cf. Thakur, p. 15: "The terms Love and Peace had no meaning to [the Arab Muslims]. They carried fire and sword wherever they went and obliterated all that came in their way. . . . The great civilization fell back and Sind entered the darkest period of its history."

[38]Thakur, p. 15. Cf. Ajwani, p. 6.

[39]To be sure, this view is not limited to Indian nationalist historians. James Tod (1782-1835), Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han or, The Central and Western Rajpoot States of India, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1829-32; reprint ed., New Delhi: K.M.N. Publishers, 1971), 2:257, noted much earlier:

> In Sinde [sic], and the desert, we find the same tribe, bearing the same name, one still Hindu, the other Mahomedon; the first retaining his primitive manners, while the convert is cruel, intolerant, cowardly, and inhospitable. . . . How completely the inoffensive, kind and hospitable negro resembles in these qualities the Rajpoot [of Sind] who is transformed into a wild beast the moment he can repeat, 'La-âllah, il-âllah, Mahomed Rusool âlla'.

[40]D. R. Bhandarkar, "Slow Progress of Islam Power in Ancient India," Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 10 (April 1929):25-44; J. F. Richards, "The Islamic Frontier in the East: Expansion into South Asia," South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies 4 (October 1974):91-109; A. L. Srivastava, "A Survey of India's Resistance to Mediaeval Invaders from the North-West: Cause of Eventual Hindu Defeat," JIH 43 (August 1965):349-68. Srivastava's article is criticized by A. K. Majumdar, "India's Resistance to Mediaeval Invaders," JIH 44 (August 1966):475-82, and in turn rebutted by Srivastava, "India's Resistance to Medieval Invaders: A Rejoinder," JIH 45 (April 1967):181-86. For specific incidents also see D. C. Ganguly, "A Forgotten Moslem Invasion," Indian Historical Quarterly 14 (December 1938):813-16, and M. L. Mathur, "Early Rulers of Mewar and Their Fights with the Arabs," Indian Historical Quarterly 29 (December 1953):315-31; 30 (March 1954):31-37.

[41]For example, Bhandarkar, ibid., p. 40, argues that the Arab Muslims of Sind "tried their utmost to conquer India and convert her people to Islam," an effort which he believes was "fired . . . by an intense religious fervour."

[42]Srivastava, "Survey," p. 349. R. C. Majumdar, Arab Invasion, p. 49, compares the Arab conquest of Sind to that of Spain, and the Hindu resistance to that of Europe, with Pulakeśin taking the place of Charlemagne.

[43]Bhandarkar, "Slow Progress," p. 25. He is so convinced of this rationale for the Arab raids that he is confused as to why Muhammad spared the temples of Sind: "This is, indeed, very strange, as one of the objects of such raids was to destroy the temples and idols of the infidels," p. 29.

[44]Ibn al-Athîr, 9:186. See below chapter five for further details on the Ghaznavid raids.

[45]The Râstrakûtas had relatively peaceful relations with Arab Sind, while the Gurjara-Pratîhâras did not. For a discussion of the evidence see S. Maqbul Ahmad's commentary, pp. 138-40, 143-44, in his translation of al-Sharîf Muhammad al-Idrîsî, Wasf al-Hind wa-mâ-yujâwiruhâ al-bilâd (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960).

[46]Hindu and Indian are used interchangeably by Srivastava and other adherents of this theory. The Râstrakûtas, whose kings and people were also Hindu, had good relationships with the Arabs (see above note 45). Does this mean that they are to be considered Hindu collaborators?

[47]For similar confusion resulting from the use of epigraphs alone for the construction of Indian dynastic history see David P. Henige, "Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a Vacuum," BSOAS 38 (1975):525-49.

[48]The Prince of Wales Museum Plate, dated K. 486/A.D. 736, refers to Jayabhata (either III or IV) defeating the tâjikas (G. V. Acharya, "A Grant of the Gurjara King Jaybhata III: [Kalachuri] Year 486," EpI 23 [1935-36]:154), and this is usually taken to mean al-Junayd. The Nausari Grant refers to a defeat inflicted on the tâjikas by Pulakeśin (text and trans. in R. S. Avasthy and A. Ghosh, "References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India--A.D. 730 to 1320," JIH 15 [1936]:162-63), and this is also assumed to refer to al-Junayd. For the term tâjika see Sircar, Geography, pp. 126-27, 131.

[49]The Gwalior Praśasti refers to Nâgabhaṭa I defeating a mleccha army: R. C. Majumdar, "The Gwalior Praśasti of the Gurjara-Pratihara King Bhoja," EpI 18 (1925-26):110 (verse 4); Hîrânanda, "Inscriptions from Gwālior," ASI-AR, 1903-4, p. 283. The Dholpur Inscription of Caṇḍamahâsena, the Câhamâna prince, refers to a defeat of the mleccha lords on the Carmanvatî River (text and trans. in Avasthy and Ghosh, pp. 164-65). For a discussion of the use of this term for later Arab Muslims see above pp. 168-72.

[50]The above mentioned Gwalior Praśasti has Nâgabhaṭa II seizing the hill forts of the turuṣka (Majumdar, ibid., p. 112, verse 11; Hîrânanda, p. 284). The Amoda Plates refer to the Haihaya king Kokkala I seizing the treasuries of the turuṣka. See Rai Bahadur Hiralal, "Amoda Plates of the Haihaya King Prithvideva I: Chedi Samvat 831," EpI 19 (1927-28):75-81; Avasthy and Ghosh, p. 165. For the term see Sircar, Geography, pp. 7, 29, 290.

[51]The Khalimpur Plate refers to Dharmapâla installing a king over Kânyakubja who was then accepted by the yavanas and other peoples. See F. Kielhorn, "Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva," EpI 4 (1896-97):252 (verse 12). For the term see Stutley and Stutley, p. 349, and Sircar, Geography, p. 396 (index).

[52]For these settlements see above p. 155.

[53]The Dholpur Inscription extols the Câhamâna prince Caṇḍamahâsena "whom the brave Mleccha lords living on both banks of the river Carmanvati serve, bowing down" (Avasthy and Ghosh, pp. 164-65). On this slim basis, B. N. Puri (p. 56) proposes that Caṇḍamahâsena defeated the Arabs with the aid of the Gurjara Bhoja I since otherwise he could not have overcome "the hardy musalmans." However, it is highly unlikely that at this time there would have been a large community of Arab Muslims living in the heart of North India (for the river Carmanvatî, modern Chambal in Rajputana, see Dey, p. 48). The reference is probably to some other mleccha tribe living in Rajputana (e.g., Hûṇas, Abhîras, Madrakas), of which there were a large number. Similarly, when the Khalimpur Plate refers to the Pâla king installing a ruler at Kânyakubja, "who readily was accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kira kings, bowing down respectively with their diadems trembling" (Kielhorn, p. 252), it is not true that yavana ("Greek") "must refer to the Muhamadan principality of Multan" as suggested by Avasthy and Ghosh, p. 164. It is more likely that the ancient term yavana is included, as Kielhorn notes (p. 246), solely for poetic reasons. It certainly does not indicate that the Arabs of Sind were defeated by Dharmapâla, the Pâla king of Bengal. Moreover, it is also highly unlikely that the turuṣkas of the

Amoda Plate and Gwalior Praśasti (see above note 50) refer to the Arabs of Sind. The former refers to a minor Haihaya king, Kokkala I (ca. A.D. 850-80), who "forcibly snatched away the treasuries, horses and elephants of the Karnata, Vanga, Gurjara, Konkana, Sakambhari and Turuska" (Avasthy and Ghosh, p. 165). It is extremely unlikely that this minor prince could have been able to defeat the rulers of the Deccan (Karṇâṭa) and Bengal (Vanga), let alone Sind. It is unusual that the inscription is taken as accurate with regard to the Arabs of Sind but not the other locales.

[54]Avasthy and Ghosh, p. 163; R. C. Majumdar, History, pp. 172-73; Krishnakumari J. Virji, Ancient History of Saurashtra (Being a Study of the Maitrakas of Valabhi V to VIII Centuries A.D.) (Bombay: Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1952), pp. 95-96; Shyam Manohar Mishra, Yaśovarman of Kanauj: A Study of Political History, Social and Cultural Life of Northern India during the Reign of Yaśovarman (New Delhi: Abhinav, 1977), pp. 54-57.

[55]According to the Balsar Plates, Pulakeśin came to the throne in A.D. 731 (R. C. Majumdar, "Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka: V.S. 894," EpI 18 [1925-26]:93) and the Nausari Plates are dated 490/A.D. 738 (Avasthy and Ghosh, p. 163). The defeat of the tâjika forces must have taken place between these dates. The first part of the Nausari Grant certainly refers to the conquests of al-Junayd.

[56]Balâdhurî, p. 442; Ya^{c}qûbî, 2:379-80; Ibn al-Athîr, 4:589-90.

[57]Ya^{c}qûbî, 2:388. Ibn al-Khayyâṭ (2:375) has him being killed by the Mîdh.

[58]Richards, p. 94. Following the lead of Srivastava ("Survey," pp. 349-68), he divides the battle for India into four separate though connected phases, extending from A.D. 636 to 1206.

[59]Richards considers the raids on India by al-Junayd as part of an Umayyad "Hindu policy" (ibid., p. 95), which is unlikely although it may have been part of an Indian policy.

[60]Ibid., pp. 94-98. Included here are raids by Arabs in the pre-conquest period, conflicts between Arabs and Indians in Sind or based on Sind, and Indian attacks on Sind or on Arabs from Sind. I am not concerned here with Richards' data on the Ghaznavids or Ghûrids.

[61]See above note 53 for the misgivings.

[62]In addition, Richards multiplies the confrontation between Jaysîyah (not Hullishah) and Ḥabîb b. al-Muhallab (and not his father al-Muhallab b. Abî Sufrah who raided Mukrân some fifty years earlier) into four different events ranging from A.D. 715 to 721 (Ḥabîb was governor only from 96/714 to 99/717). The reference to two series of battles of A.D. 905 and 959 between the rulers of Multân and the Pratîhâras is simply based on the general observations of Arab geographers that there was a state of hostility between the rulers of Multân and the king of Juzr (i.e., the Gurjaras). It is unclear how this translates into two specific incidents. The postulated clash between the Arabs of Sind and the Pratîhâra king Bhoja between the years A.D. 845 and 860 is given as two events. It is one incident based on the slim and unwarranted evidence of the Dholpur Inscription (see note 53) which, at any rate refers to the Câhamâna king Caṇḍamahâsena and not the Gurjara Bhoja I. Al-Ḥajjâj did not raid Ceylon in A.D. 710 (or any other year, for that matter). The two separate engagements at Sandân (and not Sindân, see Yâqût, 3:165-66) were not in Sind. The evidence of the Khalimpur Plate (see note 53) does not indicate that Sind became a vassal of the Pratîhâras (or the Pâlas either; Dharmapâla was not a Pratîhâra). It is difficult to see how the legendary Abû Turâb could have led a "vigorous Muslim offensive" to capture "important Hindu outposts" between the years A.D. 780 and 787 since he was simply an Arab soldier who drowned in the Indus River at the time of the Thaqafite conquest (94/712) and about whom later legends evolved (see below chapter four for details).

[63]Ibid., p. 99. This is not to say that the concept of the frontier has no utility, but only that Richards' invocation of it, at least relative to Sind, employs erroneous data and hence reaches questionable conclusions.

[64]Thomas W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (London: Constable, 1913; reprint ed., Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1968), p. 275.

[65]M. Habib, "Arab Conquest," pp. 592-611; N. B. Baloch, Muhammad ibn al-Qasim: A Study of His Family Background and Personality," IC 27 (September 1953):242-70; Muḥammad Akbar Khân, Muḥammad ibn Qâsim (Lahore: Fîrûz Sanz, n.d.).

[66]Habib, ibid., p. 609. The implication is that modern Indian Muslims should bypass the Turko-Afghan heritage and follow the exemplar of the Arabs.

[67]Ibid., p. 611. While Habib never did articulate a theory of conversion for Arab Sind, his thoughts on conversion and the thirteenth century A.D. urban revolution in North India are very

provocative. See Collected Works of Professor Mohammad Habib, vol. 1: Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period, ed. K. A. Nizami (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1974), pp. 59-84.

[68] Moulvi Syed Sahib Hashimi, "The Arab Rule in Sindh," IC 1 (April 1927):207.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Durrani, "Glimpses," pp. 252-53.

[72] See this chapter pp. 86-87 above.

[73] M. A. Ghani, "The Advent of the Arabs in Hindustan: Their Relations with the Hindus; and the Occupation of Sindh," Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, March 1940 (Madras: n.p., 1941), p. 405. The figure of 50,000 people converted to Islam every year is unsupported.

[74] N. A. Baloch, "Early Advent and Consolidation of Islam in the Lands of Pakistan," Hamdard Islamicus 3 (Spring 1980):71.

[75] See this chapter pp. 112-17 above.

[76] Qureshi, pp. 39-45. In recent years, Muslim historians writing of Arab Sind have been disinclined to discuss conversion.

[77] Ibid., p. 42.

[78] Ibid., p. 40. Cf., p. 37.

[79] Ibid.

[80] See above pp. 48-50.

[81] Note, for example, the speech of the Buddhist abbot Buddah-Rakkû reported in the Chachnâmah (p. 45): "As far as I am concerned, the service of the buddah and the quest for final liberation (ṭalab-i najât-i âkhirat) is preferable to all worldly occupations or grandeur." The reference is clearly to the nibbânic ideal of ascetic renunciation of the world leading to liberation from the Wheel of Rebirth.

[82]Qureshi, p. 41.

[83]See the discussion above pp. 117-18.

[84]Qureshi, p. 43. See above pp. 57-59 for the sun-temple of Multân.

[85]Ibid., p. 42. See above p. 52.

[86]Ibid., p. 38. See above pp. 37, 53-55.

[87]Ibid. Chachnâmah, pp. 104-10.

[88]Elliot's sources (3:79) are Richard Burton, the two Burnes brothers, Captain McMurdo, and Lieut. Postans, all British officers who served in either Tâlpûr or British-occupied Sind. Surprisingly, Friedmann ("Early History," pp. 321-33) also uses Burton as a source explaining the process of incomplete conversion of Hindus in Arab Sind.

[89]This is not only apparent in the works already cited concerning conversion in Sind, but also in many of the essays collected by Nehemia Levtzion, ed., Conversion to Islam (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979). Levtzion himself, in his introduction to the volume ("Toward a Comparative Study of Islamization", pp. 1-23) appears to have accepted Nock's definition of conversion ("the reorientation of the soul") as distinct from adhesion. For a plea for a more rigorous definition of conversion in a South Asian context, see R. E. Frykenberg, "On the Study of Conversion Movements: A Review Article and a Theoretical Note," Indian Economic and Social History Review 17 (January-March 1980): 121-38.

[90]See the observations of John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," American Sociological Review 30 (December 1965): 862. For an excellent critical evaluation of recent work on conversion see Max Heirich, "Change of Heart: A Test of Some Widely Held Theories about Religious Conversion," American Journal of Sociology 83 (November 1977):653-80. A brief discussion and extensive bibliography can be found in Lewis R. Rambo, "Current Research on Religious Conversion," Religious Studies Review 8 (April 1982):146-59.

[91]For example, Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, Collective Dynamics (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1961), chapter 6: "Mass Conversion: Changes in Group Norms," pp. 153-77; John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, "Conversion Motifs," Journal for the Scientific

Study of Religion 20 (December 1981):375. In any case, the conversion situation in Arab Sind is not directly comparable to recent Christian sects or cults, since conversion to Islam at this time was not conversion to a deviant perspective but to the belief system of a foreign ruling strata. That is, it was conformative, not deviant.

[92] For a persuasive argument against the assumption of radical change in conversion see Robin Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion," Africa 45 (1975):219-35, 373-99.

[93] Hardy, "Conversion," p. 185.

[94] Islamization, it should be pointed out, is not equivalent to Sunnization since it could be to an alternate non-Sunnî pan-Islamic textual tradition such as Twelver Shî^cism. For Islamization see Mattison Mines, "Islamization and Muslim Ethnicity in South India," Man: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, n.s., 10 (September 1975):404-19; Imtiaz Ahmad, "Exclusion and Assimilation in Indian Islam," in Socio-Cultural Impact of Islam on India, ed. Attar Singh (Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1976), pp. 85-105; Idem, "Unity and Variety in South Asian Islam," in Islam in Southern Asia: A Survey of Current Research, ed. Dietmar Rothermund, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Südasien Institut, Universität Heidelberg, 16 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975), pp. 4-9; S. C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964). The use of the term in this restricted sense would appear to be limited to Indian Islam. Elsewhere, it is employed simply for the spread of Islam. See, for example, the articles by George C. Anawati ("Factors and Effects of Arabization and Islamization in Medieval Egypt and Syria") and Anwar G. Chejne ("Islamization and Arabization in al-Andalus: A General View") in Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages, ed. Speros Vryonis Jr., Giorgio Levi Della Vida Conferences, 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), pp. 17-41, 59-86.

[95] For Sanskritization see M. N. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India and Other Essays (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962) and J. F. Staal, "Sanskrit and Sanskritization," Journal of Asian Studies 22 (1963):261-75. The precise equivalent of Sanskritization in Indian Islam would probably be Ashrafization, as suggested by Imtiaz Ahmad, "The Ashraf-Ajlaf Dichotomy in Muslim Social Structure in India," Indian Economic and Social History Review 3 (1966):268-78. For a wide-ranging discussion of the "little" and "great" traditions within Islam see Gustave E. von Grunebaum, "The Problem: Unity in Diversity," in Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization, ed. Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Comparative Studies in Cultures and Civilizations (Chicago: University of

Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 17-37. Note, however, Dale F. Eickelman's recent criticisms of the concept in "The Study of Islam in Local Contexts," Contributions to Asian Studies 17 (1982):1-16.

96 Cf., Raphael Israeli, "Islamization and Sinicization in Chinese Islam," in Levtzion, pp. 159-76. However, he uses the term Islamization for both conversion and "the strengthening of Islamic values."

97 The distinction between conversion and adhesion originated with A. C. Nock, Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion (London: Oxford University Press, 1933) who saw them as two dissimilar states. In the formulation used here, adhesion is seen simply as a special type of conversion, avoiding any qualitative distinctions. For an elaboration on the categories of Nock see William C. Shepherd, "Conversion and Adhesion," in Religious Change and Continuity: Sociological Perspectives, ed. Harry M. Johnson (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979), pp. 251-63.

98 See J. D. Y. Peel, "Syncretism and Religious Change," Comparative Studies in Society and History 10 (1968):121-41.

99 Ira M. Lapidus, "The Conversion of Egypt to Islam," Israel Oriental Studies 2 (1972):248. The most innovative attempt to solve the source problem has been made by Richard W. Bulliet, Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) who proposed using the copious prosopographical material available in the Arabic biographical dictionaries to establish a timetable of conversion. This he did directly for Irân and indirectly (via a curve of Muslim names) for other regions. Unfortunately, it is not possible to apply his methodological solutions, either directly or indirectly, to the prosopographical material on Sind discussed below in chapter four. Since none of the genealogies contained in names of individuals bearing a Sind-related nisbah actually include a name which is identifiably non-Muslim, one cannot revert the genealogy back to such individuals and assume conversion at that time. Nor is it possible to relate Bulliet's conversion curve for Irân to Sind (as he does for other regions) by plotting the occurence of five "Muslim" names (i.e., Muḥammad, Aḥmad, ᶜAlî, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn). This is due to the small data base of Sindîs bearing these names (only twenty-six for the entire four centuries covered in the analysis). Hence, the presence of only one or two additional or fewer "Muslim" names would drastically distort a name graph.

100 See above pp. 160-66 for definitions.

[101]Friedmann, "Early History," p. 328, "Multan," pp. 176-77.

[102]*Chachnâmah*, p. 219. Cf., pp. 105, 117, 119, 132, 144, 223-24.

[103]Ibid., p. 204.

[104]The two terms are used synonymously in the *Chachnâmah*. Sindîs would request *amân* and receive an *ᶜahd* or an *amân-nâmah* (pp. 119-20, 132, 225). This usage of *amân* should be distinguished from its later meaning of a safe-conduct pass given a harbî for travel in Muslim lands. See J. Schacht, "Amân," *EI²* 1 (1960): 429-30, and Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1955; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1979).

[105]For a discussion of the usage of these terms in the accounts of the early Arab conquests see D. R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests, A.D. 634-656* (London: Luzac, 1971).

[106]Daybul: Balâdhurî, p. 437, Yaᶜqûbî, 2:346, *Chachnâmah*, pp. 107-8, Ibn al-Athîr, 4:537; Râwar (to be distinguished from al-Rûr and Arôr): *Chachnâmah*, p. 195; Brahmanâbâd: Balâdhurî, p. 439, gives the range from 8,000 to 26,000, while the *Chachnâmah*, p. 207, prefers 6,000 to 16,000; Iskalandah: *Chachnâmah*, p. 237; Multân: *Chachnâmah*, p. 238, Balâdhurî, p. 440 (the latter gives 6,000 as the number of prisoners taken captive and not combatants killed).

[107]Armâ'il (i.e., Armâbîl): Ibn Khayyât, 1:307; Nîrûn: Balâdhurî, pp. 437-38, *Chachnâmah*, pp. 93, 116-18, 131-32, Yaᶜqûbî, 2:346; Siwistân region: Balâdhurî, p. 438, *Chachnâmah*, pp. 120, 146; Budhîyah: *Chachnâmah*, pp. 122-23; Bêt: *Chachnâmah*, p. 219, Balâdhurî, p. 439; Arôr (al-Rûr): Balâdhurî, p. 439, Yaᶜqûbî, 2:346-47, *Chachnâmah*, pp. 223-28.

[108]*Chachnâmah*, pp. 116, 184, 204-7, 219, 238.

[109]Ibid., p. 105.

[110]*Amân* was given to the families and dependents of Qiblah b. Mahatrâ'ij (also known as Sûd-dêv), ibid., pp. 104-10.

[111]That is, seventeen out of twenty-six reports found in the *Chachnâmah*: Nîrûn (pp. 93, 116-18, 131), Sîwistân (pp. 118-21,

145-46), Bandhân (pp. 121-23), Budhîyah (p. 123), Bhatlûr (p. 124), Bhattîyân (p. 132), Ishbahâr (p. 132), Bêt (pp. 133-36, 155), Qiṣṣah, Sûrtah, Sâkrah (ibid.), Brahmins (pp. 208-13), Sâwandî (pp. 218-19), Jattân (p. 219), Sahtah (p. 221), Arôr (pp. 223-27), Bâtîyah (pp. 235-36). This does not include any of the individuals who received amân or any of the groups who received amân in towns taken by force. (The non-amân towns are Daybul, Sîsam, Râwar, Bahrûr, Dahlîlah, Brahmanâbâd, Iskalandah, Sikkah, Multân.) Balâdhurî, pp. 436-41, notes only eight Sindî cities of which five submitted via amân or ṣulḥ, and three by ᶜanwatan.

112 Hill, pp. 173-74. If Hill is correct to attribute this to the relative resistance of these regions, then Sind (where amân occurs in over 60 percent of the treaties) must have acquiesced quickly. There is no support here for the thesis of prolonged resistance in Sind.

113 Chachnâmah, p. 151.

114 Ibid., p. 197.

115 Ibid., p. 151.

116 Ibid., pp. 227-28. The translator of the Chachnâmah has embellished the anecdote with a few Persian couplets.

117 Ibid., p. 228.

118 Ibid. The reference is to Qur'ân 33:23: "Among the believers are men who are true to what they have covenanted with God."

119 Roy P. Mottahedeh, Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 42-46.

120 Note, for example, the argument of the Buddhists of Sîwistân: "Now, if the occasion arises, we suggest that we mediate for your sake and ours, request amân, and return with binding treaties. For the Arabs keep their promises; every word they speak they will not break but be faithful to." Chachnâmah, p. 119. Cf., pp. 204, 223-24.

121 For the status of the Zoroastrians see Abû ᶜUbayd al-Qâsim b. Sallâm al-Harawî, Kitâb al-amwâl, ed. Muḥammad Ḥâmid al-Faqî (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Tijârîyah al-Kubrá, 1353/1934), pp. 31-36, and Abû Yûsuf Yaᶜqûb b. Ibrâhîm al-Anṣârî, Kitâb al-kharâj, trans. A. Ben Shemesh, Taxation in Islam, vol. 3 (Leiden:

E. J. Brill, 1969), pp. 88-90. For the scriptuaries in general see Khadduri, pp. 176-77; G. Vajda, "Ahl al-Kitâb," EI[2] 1 (1960): 264-66; Arthur S. Tritton, The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of ᶜUmar (London: Oxford University Press, 1930; reprint ed., London: Frank Cass, 1970).

[122]Cl. Cahen, "Dhimma," EI[2] 2 (1965):227-31; Antoine Fattal, Le Statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam, L'Institut de lettres orientales de Beyrouth, 10 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958), pp. 71-84; Bernard Lewis, "L'Islam et les non-musulmans," Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations 35 (1980):784-800.

[123]Balâdhurî, p. 439.

[124]Ibid. The Chachnâmah, p. 226, calls the temple of Arôr a naw-bahâr.

[125]Chachnâmah, p. 214.

[126]Ibid., pp. 114, 201, 208-9, 212-15, 219.

[127]Ibid., pp. 208-9. Mâl here is equivalent to kharâj (cf., p. 211), while gazîd is, of course, the Persian form of jizyah. Friedmann ("Chach Nâma," p. 11) thinks that this passage implies that Brahmins were exempted from the jizyah since the Chachnâmah while referring to the Brahmins begins "he imposed a tax on the rest of the subjects." This is surely reading too much into the simple phrase. But even if true, it would only apply to the thousand Brahmins who brought Lâdî, the wife of Dâhir, to Muḥammad.

[128]Peter Hardy, "Djizya. iii.--India," EI[2] 2 (1965):566.

[129]Julius Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall, trans. Margaret Graham Weir (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1927).

[130]Daniel C. Dennett, Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam, Harvard Historical Monographs, vol. 22 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950); Frede Løkkegaard, Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period with Special Reference to Circumstances in Iraq (Copenhagen: Branner & Korch, 1950). Also see Cl. Cahen, "Djizya. i," EI[2] 2 (1965):559-62; Abdal Aziz Duri, "Notes on Taxation in Early Islam," JESHO 17 (1974):136-44; H. A. R. Gibb, "The Fiscal Rescript of ᶜUmar II," Arabica 2 (1955):1-16.

[131]For example, Chachnâmah, pp. 208-9, 211-13, 215; Balâdhurî, pp. 438-39, 445-46.

[132]Chachnâmah, p. 209.

[133]For the Sasanian poll-tax and its survival in Muslim ᶜIrâq see Michael Gregory Morony, "Transition and Continuity in Seventh-Century 'Irâq" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1972), pp. 109-15. For the ratio see Abû Yûsuf, pp. 84-86, and Qudâmah b. Jaᶜfar, Kitâb al-kharâj wa-ṣinâᶜat al-kitâbah, ed. and trans. A. Ben Shemesh, Taxation in Islam, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), pp. 43-44.

[134]Chachnâmah, p. 123.

[135]Ibid., pp. 133-36. According to the Persian gloss, the office of rânagî (i.e., rânah-ship) was the Sindî equivalent of amîrî (i.e., emirate).

[136]Ibid., p. 210. Cf., pp. 108-9, 118, 131, 155, 199-200, 217, 219, 235-36.

[137]Ibid., pp. 204, 217. Wadâᶜ later led a Muhallabite revolt at Qandâbîl in Sind (Ṭabarî, 2:1410-12.

[138]Ibid., p. 209. Cf., p. 219.

[139]Ibid., p. 211.

[140]A number of traditions on the subject of leniency in the exaction of the jizyah are found in Abû Yûsuf, pp. 85-86, and Yaḥyâ b. Âdam, Kitâb al-kharâj, trans. A. Ben Shemesh, Taxation in Islam, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), pp. 60-61.

[141]Chachnâmah, pp. 128, 219-20. Cf., Abû Yûsuf, p. 84.

[142]Ibid., p. 212. Cf., pp. 219-20 for al-Ḥajjâj's own views.

[143]Ibid., p. 209.

[144]Ibid., p. 214. The text as it stands indicates that the beneficiaries of this 3 percent were Brahmin ascetics (fuqarâ'-yi brahmanân), but it is more likely that Buddhists are intended since the ruling was given in favour of a group who approached Muḥammad with misgivings over the prior patronage

given the Brahmins of Brahmanâbâd (pp. 212-14). They were monks (ahl-i râhib) from an idol-temple (but-khânah-yi buddah) just outside of Brahmanâbâd. Since they are asking for permission to repair their temple, they are probably the same Buddhists who are referred to in the same locality during the earlier reign of Chach (pp. 42-47) where the Buddhist abbot asked Chach for aid in repairing the local vihâra.

[145]Ibid., p. 213. In an earlier passage (p. 212), the mâl (i.e., kharâj) is recognized as the tax of the dhimmîs: "You have imposed mâl on them and made them dhimmî."

[146]Ibid., pp. 42-47. See above note 144.

[147]Ibid., p. 213.

[148]The general Muslim legal position has been that dhimmîs could rebuild old temples but not build new ones, although some authorities (especially Ḥanbalites) disallow the restoration of existing temples as well. See Arnold, pp. 66-69, and Fattal, pp. 174-203.

[149]Chachnâmah, p. 214. These additional conditions were negotiated by two Arab officers who were both later to be governors of Sind: Tamîm by Zayd al-Qaynî (110-13/728-31) and al-Ḥakam b. ᶜAwânah al-Kalbî (113-20/731-37).

[150]Ibid. These individuals may or may not have been Buddhist monks.

[151]Ibid., p. 214, reads jattân-i lôhânah while p. 47 reads jattân va-lôhânah. I have followed the latter version and considered the Jats and Lôhânahs two separate castes. On pp. 214-16 the Lôhânahs are said to have been comprised of the castes of Lâkhah and Sammah, while p. 40 adds the Sahtah. Maᶜṣûm Nâmî, p. 27, has the measures being applied to the castes of Lôhânah, Saᶜtah, Jandar, Mâchî (sic, but probably Mâchhî), Hâlîr, and Kôrîchah, while Qâniᶜ, p. 38, adds the Bhâtîyah to the list. The Jats, unlike the other tribes, are frequently noted (as zuṭṭ) in the Arabic sources (Iṣṭakhrî, p. 180; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:328, Maqdisî, p. 484). See A. S. Bazmee Ansari, "Djâṭ," EI[2] 2 (1965): 488-89; Gabriel Ferrand, "Zott," EI[1] 4 (1934):1235; Denys Bray, "The Jat of Baluchistan," IA 54 (1925):30-33; and the excellent ethnography by Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch and Heinz Westphal, Zur Geschichte und Kultur der Jat, Forschungen zur Ethnologie und Sozial-Psychologie, 7 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1968). For the Lôhânahs see Elliot, 2:112-14; Burton, pp. 314-17; T. S. Thadani, "The Lohanas," JSHS 8 (January 1948):166-70.

[152]Ibid., p. 47, has the regulations of Chach concerning these castes, while pp. 214-16 has the earlier regulations as told to and ratified by Muḥammad. The two are generally the same, although the latter are more detailed, listing actual penalties.

[153]Ibid., p. 215: "Among them there is neither great nor small. They possess a savage temperament, are continuously rebellious and disobedient to the ruler, and commit highway robberies." This judgement is anticipated for some large but unnamed tribe of Sind by Hiuen Tsiang (2:273): "They are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and are given to bloodshed only. . . . They have no masters, and, whether men or women, have neither rich nor poor."

[154]Ibid., pp. 215-16. For ᶜUmar's ruling see Balâdhurî, p. 125.

[155]Fattal, pp. 96-112; Hill, pp. 175-77; Khadduri, pp. 195-99. For details on the special clothing of the <u>dhimmîs</u> see Muhammad Munazir Ahsan, <u>Social Life under the Abbasids, 170-289 A.H., 786-902 A.D.</u>, Arab Background Series (London: Longman, 1979; Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1979), pp. 61-63.

[156]While the two brothers are not specifically called Lôhânah, one can deduce that they were since their paternal grandfather was the famous Akham Lôhânah (see p. 42 above). The honours accorded them are referred to in the <u>Chachnâmah</u>, pp. 133-36, 165-66.

[157]Môkah rendered the Arabs military intelligence (ibid., pp. 202, 205), material assistance (pp. 136, 149), and actually fought for the Arabs with his followers (pp. 172, 180, 202). The written deed giving Qiṣṣah to Môkah and his descendants in perpetuity is found pp. 133, 136. Both Balâdhurî, p. 444, and Yaᶜqûbî, 2:380, single out Qiṣṣah has remaining steadfast during the later rebellion. It is interesting to note that the two governors of Sind at this time, Tamîm b. Zayd and al-Ḥakam b. ᶜAwânah, were probably personally acquainted with Môkah since they were in the Thaqafite army of conquest (see above note 149) and actually participated in some of the negotiations.

[158]Ibid., p. 215.

[159]M. Habib, "Arab Conquest," p. 601.

[160]<u>Chachnâmah</u>, pp. 220-21.

[161]Ibid., p. 220. Khuraym was one of the leading Thaqafite officers (pp. 98, 102, 103, 107, 174, 180, 192, 202, 220). His nephew al-Junayd was later governor of Sind. For Khuraym's career outside of Sind see Kalbî, 1:127, 2:349; Crone, p. 98.

[162]Balâdhurî, p. 438. Cf., Chachnâmah, pp. 132, 146, 155.

[163]Ibid., pp. 445-46.

[164]Chachnâmah, p. 173.

[165]Balâdhurî, pp. 373-76; Ṭabarî, 3:1167-69.

[166]See the discussion of the sources of the Chachnâmah in chapter one above pp. 6-7 and note 14.

[167]Chachnâmah, pp. 41-48.

[168]Ibid., pp. 195, 222-23. For Hindu perceptions of the Arabs as caṇḍâlas see the discussion pp. 169-70 above.

[169]Manu-smṛti, trans. Georg Bühler, The Laws of Manu, Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. 25 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1886; reprint ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964), p. 407.

[170]Friedmann, "Early History," p. 332. The unprecedented nature of the canine clause led Elliot (3:47-49) to misinterpret the text and propose that the Jats were required to collect dogs and deliver them to the Arab authorities. This was done, he suggests, in order to diminish the number of Sindî dogs by slaughtering them, or else so that the Arab rulers might use the dogs for hunting or herding purposes. However, the sources do not allow the conclusion that members of these castes paid dogs for jizyah; they were to be accompanied by dogs. Only Friedmann has recognized the regulations as a form of ghiyâr attached to their dhimmî status. He suggests that the preexisting canine clause was acceptable by Muslims since dogs are unclean in both the Hindu and Muslim traditions. His analysis has been accepted here and related specifically to caṇḍâla caste regulations.

[171]Atindranath Bose, Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, 2 vols. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942-45; reprint ed., Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1961-67), 2:222. Cf., Manu-smṛti, p. 414.

[172]Balâdhurî, p. 441. Cf. Ibn al-Athîr, 4:589-90, 5:54-55. Ya^{c}qûbî (2:479) mentions an additional *da^{c}wah* during the caliphate of al-Mahdî (158-69/775-85) when the kings of Kâbul, Bâmiyân, Tibet, Hind, and Sind were called on to accept Islam. However, all details of this *da^{c}wah* are lacking and it may well have been a propaganda exercise.

[173]Balâdhurî, p. 442 (followed by Ibn al-Athîr, 4:589-90, 5:135) suggests that al-Junayd unjustly provoked Jaysîyah.

[174]Balâdhurî, p. 442.

[175]The governor of Sind for ^{c}Umar II during this period was ^{c}Amr b. Muslim al-Bâhilî (ibid.). Consequently, Jaysîyah could not have differed with al-Junayd over accepting the latter's overall authority in Sind (since he had previously accepted that of ^{c}Amr). The land entrusted to Jaysîyah and other princes must have been only a portion of Sind and under the general jurisdiction of the nominal Arab governor appointed by the caliph.

[176]*Chachnâmah*, pp. 123, 133-36.

[177]Balâdhurî, p. 442; Ibn al-Athîr, 4:590.

[178]Ashfaque, pp. 198-99. For a similar practice at the mosque at Ghazna see Bîrûnî, *Tahqîq*, 2:103.

[179]*Chachnâmah*, p. 177.

[180]Vaidya, 1:173-74; Qureshi, pp. 37-39.

[181]Dhar, pp. 596-604; Friedmann, "Early History," pp. 325-28.

[182]That is, Nîrûn, Sîwistân, Budhîyah, Bêt, Sâkrah. See Balâdhurî, pp. 437-38, and *Chachnâmah*, pp. 93, 116-24, 131-35.

[183]The first instance of a group of Brahmins collaborating occurred after the fall of Brahmanâbâd (*Chachnâmah*, pp. 204-18). Even then, the cities of Upper Sind (e.g., Multân, Sikkah, Iskalandah) had to be taken by force and with considerable casualties (ibid., pp. 235-40).

[184]Ibid., pp. 118-24; Balâdhurî, p. 438. The ruler of Sîwistân was Bajhrâ, a cousin of Dâhir.

[185]That is, Bhandarkû (or Bhandarkan) Samanî, governor of Nîrûn (ibid., pp. 117, 131-32); Sundur Samanî, an earlier governor of Nîrûn (p. 93); Muqdanyah Samanî, a later governor of Nîrûn (p. 155); Kâkah b. Kôtak Bhikkû (pp. 120-23); Môkah b. Basâyah (pp. 133-35, 144, 149, 155-57); Râsil b. Basâyah (pp. 156-57, 164-66); Bawâd Samanî (p. 219); Budîhî Baman Dhôl (p. 219); and Sarbîdas (Balâdhurî, p. 438; this may be the unnamed Samanî muqaddam noted in Chachnâmah, pp. 118-20).

[186]Ibid., pp. 153-54. For Bhandarkû see pp. 117, 131-32; for Siyâkar see pp. 137-38, 167-69, 199-200.

[187]Qiblah b. Mahatrâ'ij, also called Sûd-dêv, the Brahmin of Daybul (ibid., pp. 108-10). Of course, this is not to say that he was the only Hindu who collaborated during this period, but only that he was the only one whose name is recorded.

[188]All but Bawâd Samanî and Budîhî Baman Dhôl of note 185.

[189]Chachnâmah, pp. 93, 116-24, 131-35.

[190]Ibid., p. 93; Balâdhurî, pp. 437-38.

[191]Friedmann, "Early History," pp. 326-27.

[192]Chachnâmah, pp. 118-20, 145-46.

[193]Siyâkar defected after the death of Dâhir (ibid., pp. 199-200), the Brahmins of Lower Sind after the fall of Brahmanâbâd (pp. 208-18), and Kaksah b. Chandar after the fall of Bâtîyah (also given as Bhâtîyah and Bhâṭîyah) in Upper Sind (pp. 235-36).

[194]Ibid., pp. 236-38; Balâdhurî, pp. 439-40.

[195]After the fall of Lower Sind, the resistance was led by the Brahmins Qawfî b. Dâhir (ibid., p. 221) and Kursîyah b. Chandar and the Thakkar Bachhrâ (pp. 237-38). Jaysîyah himself went to India (pp. 228-33) where he attempted to obtain aid against the Arabs.

[196]Iṣṭakhrî, Ibn Ḥawqal, Masûdî, Maqdisî, all of whom were personally in Sind in the post-conquest period, have no reference to the sumanîyah in the region.

[197]Bîrûnî, Taḥqîq, 1:249. For his sojourn in Sind see above p. 12.

[198]Cousens, p. 87. Unfortunately, he does not indicate the dates or the names and legends of the thirty-six Arab period coins found at Mirpur Khas. The coins themselves have disappeared.

[199]See pp. 50-52 above.

[200]Computed by adding up the numbers of tables VI in the B volumes of the <u>Gazetteer of the Province of Sind</u>.

[201]Bîrûnî, <u>Tahqîq</u>, 1:116-17, 121, 173, 240; 2:15, 104, 145, 184. Also see Ibn Rustah, pp. 135-37.

[202]Maqdisî, p. 483. The reference is clearly to <u>deva-dâsîs</u>.

[203]Ibid.

[204]Ibid.

[205]See p. 50 above for details and references.

[206]Mitra, p. 34; Binayendra Nath Chaudhury, <u>Buddhist Centres in Ancient India</u>, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, no. 70 (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1969), pp. 192-93.

[207]Târanâtha, <u>History</u>, p. 279.

[208]See p. 44 above.

[209]The assimilation theory is summarized in Joshi, pp. 379-418, and Mitra, pp. 149-64. While this is the generally accepted view, Warder (<u>Buddhism</u>, pp. 506-21) has argued that Indian Buddhism was actually prospering until the fourteenth century and expired not from assimilation but from Muslim intolerance attendant on the Turkish conquest.

[210]For example, Buddhists could have converted to Islam in the Delhi Sultanate period rather than been absorbed into Hinduism. After all, the primary Muslim regions of the Indian subcontinent are precisely those areas which had a substantial Buddhist population before the conquest (Sind, Bengal, Bihar, North-West Frontier).

[211]See pp. 44~~, 50~~ above.

[212]See p. 50 above.

[213]Târanâtha, History, p. 342.

[214]See below chapter four for prosopographical details.

[215]Upper Sind: Multân (Yâqût, 3:457); Mukrân: Fannazbûr (Maqdisî, p. 478, as Bannajbûr); Tîz (Maqdisî, p. 478); Tûrân: Quṣdâr (Yâqût, 4:86-87); Lower Sind: Qâmuhul (Yâqût, 4:21); Sîwistân (Ibn Baṭṭûṭah, 3:598); Arôr, Bulrî, Qallarî, Narî (Hudûd, p. 89); Daybul (Balâdhurî, p. 437; Cf., Ashfaque, pp. 182-209); Manṣûrah (Maqdisî, p. 479; Yâqût, 4:663). According to Cousens (p. 50), four mosques were uncovered at the site of Manṣûrah during preliminary excavations.

[216]Balâdhurî, p. 439. Cf., Chachnâmah, pp. 218-19. For its Buddhist connections see above p. 43.

[217]Cited by Abû al-Fidâ', pp. 347-48.

[218]Muḥammad b. Ismâᶜîl al-Bukhârî, Majmûᶜat al-kalimât wa-al-rasâ'il, p. 290, Arabic text given by Abû al-Maᶜâlî Athar Mubârakpûrî, al-Futûḥât al-Islâmîyah fî-al-Hind, aw al-ᶜIqd al-thamîn (Bombay: Jâmî Mihlah, 1388/1968), p. 27. I have been unable to locate the original.

[219]For similar, although later, claims of conversion precedence in Malabar see Yohanan Friedmann, "Qiṣṣat Shakarawatî Farmâd: A Tradition Concerning the Introduction of Islam to Malabar," Israel Oriental Studies 5 (1975):233-58. Also see A. Cherian, "The Genesis of Islam in Malabar," Indica 6 (March 1969):1-13.

[220]Chachnâmah, p. 119.

[221]Ibid.

[222]Ibid., p. 120.

[223]Ibid., p. 146.

[224]Ibid.

[225]Ibid., pp. 224, 226.

[226]Ibid., p. 219.

[227]Ibid., p. 42.

[228] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[229] Ibid., p. 117. Cf., p. 131, where the terms are bay^c va-shirâ'.

[230] Ibid., pp. 118, 155.

[231] Ibid., pp. 148-49.

[232] Ibid., p. 123. Cf., p. 120.

[233] Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 261-67; Idem, "The Role of Buddhist Monasteries in T'ang Society," History of Religions 15 (1975):209-30; L. S. Yang, "Buddhist Monasteries and Four Money-Raising Institutions in Chinese History," Harvard Journal of Asian Studies 13 (1950):174-91; D. W. Twitchett, "The Monasteries and China's Economy in Mediaeval Times," BSOAS 19 (1957):526-49; Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China, American Geographical Society Research Series, no. 21, 2d ed. (New York: American Geographical Society, 1951), pp. 177-78.

[234] D. D. Kosambi, Ancient India: A History of Its Culture and Civilization (New York: Meridian, 1969), pp. 182-87; Idem, Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1962), pp. 100-14.

[235] Bose, 2:43-44; Bimala Churn Law, Geography of Early Buddhism (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1973), pp. 8, 58.

[236] Cousens, pp. 82-97 (plates 19-27).

[237] Konow, p. 97. The speakers of the language of the inscription, according to Konow (p. 95), must have come from Sind.

[238] Chachnâmah, pp. 39, 120-23.

[239] Bose, 2:42-43.

[240] Law, pp. 56-58; Dey, p. 170; Caroline F. Rhys Davids, "Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India," JRAS, 1901, pp. 859-88.

[241] Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 172, 175; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:319, 323.

[242]Istakhrî, pp. 172, 175, 179; Ibn Hawqal, 2:319, 327; Idrîsî, pp. 40, 42-43, 45.

[243]For the continuation of the route see A. C. A. Foucher, La Vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila, Mémoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, 1, 2 vols. (Paris: Ed. d'art et d'histoire, 1942-47).

[244]S. M. Mishra, pp. 113, 143.

[245]Ibid.

[246]Cousens, pp. 60, 87-88, 93; N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, pp. 5-18; Idem, "Note on the Copper Coins from Stûpa Area," in Marshall, 1:127-30; D. R. Bhandarkar, "Saidpur," p. 94; "Mari Sabar," PA 1 (1964):10.

[247]Cousens, p. 89 and plate 25.

[248]Ibid., p. 54 and plate 13. For his convincing argument that the site was Sâwandî see pp. 59-60 and map (plate 5).

[249]Ibid. Since they were found in different stages of refinement, the stones must have been imported unfinished.

[250]For example, the Chachnâmah does not give the religious affiliation of the four great merchants of Brahmanâbâd who aided the Arabs in taking the city (pp. 204-5).

[251]Ibid., pp. 17-18, 55, 108-9, 118-20, 173, 177, 183-84, 235-39.

[252]Ibid., p. 17.

[253]Ibid., p. 30.

[254]Ibid., pp. 210-11.

[255]Ibid., p. 112.

[256]See above p. 53.

[257]See above p. 62 note 15 for references. The small Hindu shrine at Hinglâj has not yet been studied.

[258]For data specifically for Sind see Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, The Economic Factors in Kushâṇa History (Calcutta: Pilgrim Publishers, 1970), appendix 3: "The Lower Indus Country and the Beginning of the Indo-Roman Commerce." The standard text for the classical East-West trade is Erich H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928). Also see Jean Filliozat, Les Relations extérieures de l'Inde, Publications de l'Institut français d'Indologie, 2 (Pondicherry: Institut français d'Indologie, 1956), part 1: "Les Echanges de l'Inde et de l'Empire Romain aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne"; J. Innes Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire: 29 B.C. to A.D. 641 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Michael Loewe, "Spices and Silk: Aspects of World Trade in the First Seven Centuries of the Christian Era," JRAS, 1971, pp. 166-79; C. Margabandhu, "Trade Contacts between Western India and the Graeco-Roman World in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era," JESHO 7 (1965):316-22; K. Walton Dobbins, "The Commerce of Kapisene and Gandhara after the Fall of Indo-Greek Rule," JESHO 14 (December 1971):286-302.

[259]Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, An Agrippan Source: A Study in Indo-Parthian History (Calcutta: Pilgrim Publishers, 1969), pp. 62, 108.

[260]Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Records of the Grand Historian of China, trans. Burton Watson, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 2:269, 293-94. For a discussion of this event see Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 1: Introductory Orientations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 173-75.

[261]Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, text and trans. F. C. Conybeare, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1912), 1:339.

[262]Pliny the Elder, Natural History, text and trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 10 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1942), 2:395, 415; Strabo, The Geography of Strabo, text and trans. Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library, 8 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1917-32), 7:129-31. For a discussion of the various Greek and Latin names for towns and tribes of Sind see P. H. L. Eggermont, Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 3 (Leuven: University Press, 1975).

[263]The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century, trans. Wilfred H. Schoff (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), pp. 37-38.

264Ibid., section 39, pp. 37-38.

265See Schoff's notes (ibid., pp. 168-72) for the origins of these materials.

266Ibid. Compare section 39 with sections 49 and 56.

267Gobinda Lal Adhya, Early Indian Economics: Studies in the Economic Life of Northern and Western India, c. 200 B.C.-300 A.D. (London: Asia Publishing House, 1966), pp. 134-36.

268Pan Ku, "Notes on the Western Regions, Translated from the Tseen Han Shoo," trans. A. Wylie, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 10 (1881):37. For the identification of Chi-pan with the Kuṣâṇa empire see William Woodthorpe Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 469-71. The Chinese data on Sind and India have been discussed by Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, India, Hindustan and Shen-tu (Patna: Associated Book Agency, 1977).

269Fan Yeh, "Les Pays d'occident d'après le Heou Han Chou," trans. Edouard Chavannes, T'oung Pao, série 11, vol. 8 (1907):184. Cf., pp. 192-93 for the equation of Tien-tou and Sin-tu.

270R. A. Jairazbhoy, Foreign Influence in Ancient India (London: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 126. For Sauvîra see Sircar, Geography, pp. 33, 113; Dey, p. 183; B. D. Mirchandani, "Ancient Sindhu and Sauvîra," Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 57 (1976):81-93; Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Sindhu Sauvira," paper presented at the International Seminar on Sind through the Centuries, Karachi, Pakistan, 2-7 March 1975 (typescript).

271Milinda-Pañha, 2:269.

272Ibid., 2:211. For Alexandria on the Indus see the introduction of Rhys Davids, 1:xxiii.

273Needham, pp. 181-82.

274"Whenever Parthian hostility intervened the Kuŝans could divert the caravans southwards from Balkh to the Indus Delta, where the goods could complete their journey by sea." David Bivar, "The Nomad Empires and the Expansion of Buddhism," in Central Asia, ed. Gavin Hambly, Delacorte World History, vol. 16 (New York: Delacorte, 1969), p. 47. For the difficulties with the Parthians and Sasanians see Adhya, pp. 109-11, and Mukherjee, Kushâṇa, pp. 15-16, 53.

[275]Miller, p. 198.

[276]Needham, pp. 185-87; Hadi Hasan, A History of Persian Navigation (London: Methuen, 1928), pp. 67-71; Archibald R. Lewis, Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1100, Princeton Studies in History, vol 5 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 32-34; Sachindra Kumar Maity, Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period (cir. A.D. 300-550), 2d ed., rev. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), pp. 175-81.

[277]The incident is recorded by Procopius, History of the Wars, text and trans. H. B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library, 7 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1914-40), 1:193. For a discussion of these events see George Fadlo Hourani, Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times, Princeton Oriental Studies, vol. 13 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 43-44; S. A. Huzayyin, Arabia and the Far East: Their Commercial and Cultural Relations in Graeco-Roman and Irano-Arabian Times (Cairo: La Société royale de géographie d'Egypte, 1942), p. 133.

[278]Procopius, 1:193-94.

[279]Ibid., 5:227-31. Also see Hourani, p. 44; Huzayyin, pp. 195-97; Hasan, pp. 70-71. For the subsequent Byzantine production of silk and their monopolization of the European markets see R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," Speculum 20 (1945):1-43. According to Ram Sharan Sharma, Indian Feudalism: c. 300-1200 A.D. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1965), p. 68, the introduction of siviculture into the Byzantine empire "drastically reduced whatever remained of the shrunken foreign commerce of North-Western India in Gupta times." This would have been particularly acute in Sind which depended on transit trade for the greater part of its commerce.

[280]A. Lewis, pp. 54-97; R. S. Sharma, p. 68.

[281]I-Tsing, p. liii; Ch'en, Buddhism, p. 235.

[282]Needham, pp. 186-87; R. A. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, trans. J. E. Stapleton Driver (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), pp. 56-66. Huzayyin, p. 148, blames the closure of the silk route solely on the Tibetans.

[283]Ch'en, Buddhism, pp. 238-39; Lallanji Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, c. A.D. 700-1200 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), pp. 107-9.

[284]For observations on Indian feudalism see Rushton Coulborn, "Feudalism, Brahmanism and the Intrusion of Islam upon Indian History," Comparative Studies in Society and History 10 (1967-68):356-74, and the previously cited works by Gopal and R. S. Sharma. Feudalism in Sind may have been more extensive than in other regions of North India due to its earlier and more complete reliance on inter-regional trade.

[285]Chachnâmah, pp. 15-16. The four were Lower Sind with its capital at Brahmanâbâd, Western Sind with its capital at Sîwistân, Central Sind with its capital at Iskalandah, and Upper Sind with its capital at Multân. The overall capital of Sind was at Arôr, and the king personally governed that region of Sind known by the Arabs as Ṭûrân.

[286]Ibid., p. 16.

[287]Hiuen Tsiang, 1:88.

[288]See pp. 109-10 above.

[289]Chachnâmah, pp. 117, 120, 123, 209, 217.

[290]Ibid., p. 91. Cf., Balâdhurî, p. 435: "Bandits (luṣûṣ) have seized [the Arab ships] and I have no authority over them."

[291]Ibid., pp. 89, 92, 108-10. Bede, pp. 53, 95-96, accepts Dâhir's statement at face value and hence exonerates him of any culpability in the seizure.

[292]Balâdhurî, pp. 435-36, gives the raids of ^{c}Ubayd Allâh b. Nabhân al-Salamî and Budayl b. Ṭahfah al-Bajalî as two separate events, while the Chachnâmah, pp. 91-93, considers them as part of the same two-pronged attack. In any case, the raids were a failure and Daybul was not conquered until the time of Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim.

[293]Chachnâmah, p. 112.

[294]Ibid., p. 93; Balâdhurî, pp. 437-38.

[295]Ibid., p. 117. Cf., p. 131.

[296]Ibid., p. 217; Ya^{c}qûbî, 2:346.

[297]Ibid., p. 217; Ṭabarî, 2:1257.

298See Mukherjee, Kushâna, for the Kuṣânas and Postans for the British. Postans expands at length on the commercial considerations (principally to control the trade of Central Asia) influencing the British invasion of Sind.

299Gopal, pp. 105-7; Jan Yün-Hua, "The Tibetans in North-west India during the VIIIth Century A.D.," Journal of Indian History, Golden Jubilee Volume, ed. T. K. Ravindran (Kerala: University of Kerala, 1973), pp. 81-96; Buddha Prakesh, "Tibet, Kashmir and North India, 647-747," Bulletin of Tibetology, 6 (July 1969):39-48.

300Gopal, pp. 106-7; S. M. Mishra, p. 58; R. C. Majumdar, History, pp. 130-32; Sunil Chandra Ray, Early History and Culture of Kashmir, 2d ed., rev. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1970), pp. 45, 53; H. A. R. Gibb, "Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia," BSOAS 2 (1923):613-22.

301Chachnâmah, p. 93.

302For an overview of pan-Islamic trade during the classical period see Hourani, chap. 2: "Trade Routes under the Caliphate," pp. 51-84; Huzayyin, chap. 4: "The Commercial Relations in the Irano-(Perso-)Arabian Period," pp. 129-88; and E. Ashtor, A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages (London: Collins, 1976), chap. 3: "The Heyday of the Moslem Empire," pp. 71-114.

303Jahshiyârî, pp. 281-86; Ibn Khaldûn, 1:318-21. Akram al-ᶜUmarî's edition of the Ta'rîkh of Ibn Khayyâṭ used here omits the revenue tables found in a unique manuscript at the Bibliothèque Générale in Rabat. The two pages in question are given and discussed by Saleh Ahmad El-Ali, "A New Version of Ibn al-Muṭarrif's List of Revenues in the Early Times of Hârûn al-Rashîd," JESHO 14 (December 1971):303-10.

304See, for example, Iṣṭakhrî, p. 175, Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:323, and Ḥudûd, p. 122.

305Maqdisî, p. 478.

306Masᶜûdî, Murûj, 1:207, refers to the caravans travelling between Sind and Khurâsân; Maqdisî notes the carrying costs of the caravan from Multân to Ghaznayn (p. 486) and the route from Manṣûrah via Quzdâr; Yaᶜqûbî, Kitâb al-buldân, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892), pp. 287-88, gives the itinerary from Multân to Balkh.

[307] Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 178-79; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:317-18, 326; Ibn Khurradâdhbih, pp. 53-55, 154-55; Ibn al-Faqîh al-Hamadhânî, Mukhtaṣar kitâb al-buldân, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 5 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1885), p. 208.

[308] For the trade from lower Sind across the desert to India see Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:318-19, 327; Ḥudûd, pp. 89-90, 123; Maqdisî, p. 486. Yaᶜqûbî, Buldân, p. 365, refers to the Sindî trade in musk from Tibet, while Râmhurmuzî, pp. 103-4, notes the trade with Kashmir via the Indus River.

[309] Ibn Khurradâdhbih, pp. 60-71. Also see Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:50; Ibn al-Faqîh, p. 7; Masᶜûdî, Murûj, 1:338-39.

[310] Ibn Khurradâdhbih, p. 69. For Armâbîl (modern Las Bela) see Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 171, 176, 178; Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 319, 326; Idrîsî, pp. 40, 46-47, 77. It was ruled by Buddhists in the pre-conquest period (Chachnâmah, p. 48).

[311] Ibn Khurradâdhbih, pp. 153-55. For these merchants see Cl. Cahen, "Y a-t-il eu des Rahdanites?" Revue des études juives 123 (1964):499-505.

[312] Pervin T. Nasir, "Coins of the Early Muslim Period from Banbhore," PA 6 (1969):117-81 (see nos. 1, 11-14, 36-37, 39, 50).

[313] Reu, pp. 124-27, reports 6,585 silver coins of the Arab period; James Prinsep, Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic, and Palaeographic, ed. Edward Thomas, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1858; reprint ed., Delhi: Indological Book House, 1971), 2:119-24, refers to a twenty-eight pound shot-bag of Arab coins found at the site of Manṣûrah; while W. Vost, "Governors of Sind," JASB, n.s., 5 (1909):308-9, mentions 74 silver Arab coins found at Ajmir. Also see Cousens, pp. 178-84 ("Ancient Coinage in Sind") and plate 102; Edward Thomas, "Coins of the Arabs in Sind," IA 11 (April 1882):89-95; E. Rehatsek, "Facsimiles of Muhammadan Coins," JBBRAS 10 (1874): 163-66.

[314] Cousens, pp. 50, 52-53 (plate 10); N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, pp. 7-8; "Excavations at Banbhore," pp. 53-54; Banbhôr: âsâr-i qadîmah kê inkishâfât kê êk ibtidâ'-yi rupôrt, 2d ed. (Karachi: Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, 1971), pp. 34-39; R. L. Hobson, A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East (London: British Museum, 1932), pp. 8-10 and plate 4, figs. 14-18.

[315]Banbhôr, p. 36; "Excavations at Banbhore," pp. 51,54; "Banbhore," p. 181; Hobson, p. 9 (note 17); M. A. Stein, "Las Bela," p. 200; M. A. Stein, An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 43 (Calcutta: Government of India, 1931), p. 55. David Whitehouse ("Chinese Stoneware from Siraf: The Earliest Finds," South Asian Archaeology 1 [1973]:241-55) compares the Banbhore and Brahmanâbâd stoneware with that found at Sîrâf which was deposited before A.D. 825.

[316]Huzayyin, pp. 258-59. For the early Arab conquests see H. A. R. Gibb, The Arab Conquests in Central Asia (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1923; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1970).

[317]G. R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 30 (May 1957):1-45; T. Lewicki, "Les Premiers commerçants Arabes en Chine," Rocznik Orientalistyczny 11 (1935):173-86; S. Qudrat Allâh Fâṭimî, Mashriq-i ba^{c}îd men tulû^{c}-i Islâm (Lahore: Idârah-yi Thaqâfat-i Islâmîyah, 1978). A vivid account of this trade is given in the anonymous Akhbâr al-Ṣîn wa-al-Hind.

[318]Cousens, p. 93.

[319]See above p. 127.

[320]Iṣṭakhrî, p. 176; Ibn Hawqal, 2:319-20; Ḥudûd, p. 88; Mas^{c}ûdî, Murûj, 1:382-83. V. A. Janaki, Gujarat as the Arabs Knew It (A Study in Historical Geography), M. S. University of Baroda, Geography, Research Paper Series, no. 4 (Baroda: M. S. University of Baroda Press, 1969) discusses the various Arab ports in the region. For a specific case see Abû al-Ma^{c}âlî Athar Mubârakpûrî, "Dawlât-i Mâhânîyah Sanjân (198 tâ 227)," Ma^{c}ârif 83 (1378/1959):188-210, 297-306, 372-80.

[321]For the hunarman see Râmhurmuzî, pp. 142-44, 161, and the editors' notes, p. 204. Mas^{c}ûdî, Murûj, 2:85-86, gives the variation hizmah.

[322]Ahmad Hasan Dani, Helmut Humbach, and Robert Gobl, "Tochi Valley Inscriptions in the Peshawar Museum," Ancient Pakistan: Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar 1 (1964):128-30. For the Tor-Dherai inscription see p. 135 above.

[323]N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, pp. 122-23 et passim.

324"Banbhore," p. 180.

325See above p. 137 and notes 248-49 for details.

326Banbhôr, pp. 21-22; "Excavations at Banbhore," p. 50; "Banbhore," p. 179.

327For the peculiarities, variations, and limitations of early Muslim urbanism see Albert Hourani, "Introduction: The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research," in The Islamic City: Papers Delivered at the Meetings of the Near Eastern History Group in Oxford, 1965, ed. Albert Hourani and S. M. Stern, Papers on Islamic History, 1 (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 9-24; Ira M. Lapidus, "Muslim Cities and Islamic Societies," in Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism, ed. Ira M. Lapidus (Berkely: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 47-79; Idem, The Evolution of Muslim Urban Society," Comparative Studies in Society and History 15 (1973):21-50; Tarif Khalidi, "Some Classical Islamic Views of the City," Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsân cAbbâs on His Sixtieth Birthday, ed. Wadâd al-Qâḍî (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981), pp. 265-76.

328After the conquest of Daybul, a quarter was marked out for the Arabs and four thousand are said to have settled there (Balâdhurî, p. 437).

329Bayḍâ' was built by cImrân b. Mûsâ al-Baramakî (Yâqût, 1:761; Balâdhurî, pp. 435, 445), while Mansûrah was built by cAmr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Thaqafî during the governorship of al-Ḥakam b. cAwânah al-Kalbî (Balâdhurî, p. 444; Yacqûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:389; Yâqût, 4:663). Other towns not noted at the time of the Arab conquest but present in later geographical accounts are Bânîyah, Bulrî (or Ballarî), Maswâhî, Manḥâtrâ, Qallarî.

330Manṣûrah, built only two farsakhs from the old city of Brahmanâbâd (Balâdhurî, p. 439), became the major urban complex of Sind; thereafter, Brahmanâbâd is noted only as an antiquity (Yâqût, 4:663). Other urban areas mentioned at the time of the conquest but not thereafter are Râwar, Mawj, Bahrûr, Dahlîlah, Harâwar, Sîsam, Sâkrah.

331Arôr, the capital of pre-Islamic Sind, gradually diminished in importance during the Arab period, although geographers still refer to it (e.g., Maqdisî, p. 477).

332Maqdisî, pp. 479-80, compares the architecture of Manṣûrah with Damascus (and its main mosque with one in cUmân)

and Multân with Sîrâf. The Umayyad period mosque at Daybul resembled ones of the same period at Kûfah and Wâsiṭ (Ashfaque, pp. 206-7).

[333]See Ethel Jane W. Bunting, Sindhi Tombs and Textiles (Albuquerque, N.M.: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology and the University of New Mexico Press, 1980).

[334]Chachnâmah, p. 240.

[335]"Banbhore," p. 180; "Excavations at Banbhore," p. 53. It was attached to the north side of the mosque.

[336]Maqdisî, p. 479.

[337]For an excellent overview see Maxime Rodinson, "Le Marchand musulman," in Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloquium, ed. D. S. Richards, Papers on Islamic History, 2 (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 21-35. Also see S. D. Goitein, "The Rise of the Middle-Eastern Bourgeoisie in Early Islamic Times," in his Studies in Islamic History and Institutions (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 217-41; Sami Zubaida, "Economic and Political Activism in Islam," Economy and Society 1 (August 1972):308-38.

[338]See chapter one of Maxime Rodinson, Islam and Capitalism, trans. Brian Pearce (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), and W. Heffening, "Tidjâra," EI[1] 4 (1934):747-51.

[339]Goitein, pp. 220-29.

[340]Although only half the rate of a harbî. The relevant traditions can be found in Abû ᶜUbayd, pp. 526-32; Abû Yûsuf, pp. 140-43; Qudâmah, pp. 56-57.

[341]Hayyim J. Cohen, "The Economic Background and the Secular Occupations of Muslim Jurisprudents and Traditionists in the Classical Period of Islam (until the Middle of the Eleventh Century)," JESHO 13 (January 1970):35-41.

[342]Ibn Abî Ḥâtim al-Râzî, Kitâb al-jarh wa-al-taᶜdîl, 9 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Maᶜârif al-ᶜUthmânîyah, 1371-73/1952-53), 2:140.

[343]Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:325. Cf., Iṣṭakhrî, p. 177.

[344]Ibid.

[345]David F. Aberle, "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and Other Cult Movements," in Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 209-14; Charles Y. Glock, "The Role of Deprivation in the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups," in Religion and Social Conflict, ed. Robert Lee and Martin E. Marty (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 24-36; Roland Robertson, The Sociological Interpretation of Religion, Blackwell's Sociology Series (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), pp. 158-69; W. G. Runciman, "Relative Deprivation and the Concept of Reference Group," in Sociological Perspectives, ed. Ken Thompson and Jeremy Tunstall (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 299-315; Rodney Stark, "The Economics of Piety: Religious Commitment and Social Class," in Issues in Social Inequality, ed. Gerald W. Thielbar and Saul D. Feldman (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1972), pp. 483-503.

[346]Aberle, p. 209.

[347]Unlike Glock, for example.

[348]H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Henry Holt, 1929). Also see Vittorio Lanternari, Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults (New York: Knopf, 1963) and Milton Yinger, "Religion and Social Change: Functions and Dysfunctions of Sects and Cults among the Disprivileged," Review of Religious Research 4 (1963): 65-84.

[349]Cf., Runciman, pp. 299-315, who uses the term in an inter-group sense.

[350]Aberle, pp. 210-11; Glock, pp. 27-29.

[351]See Runciman, pp. 304-5, for an analysis of such a situation.

[352]Ibid., p. 305.

[353]Glock, p. 29, thinks that religious resolutions to deprivation are likely to be chosen "where the nature of the deprivation is inaccurately perceived" and hence are likely "to compensate for feelings of deprivation than to eliminate its causes." That is, religious resolutions are expressive; secular resultions are instrumentive. For a criticism of this argument see Gary Schwartz, Sect Ideologies and Social Status (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 47. The question of secular options to relative deprivation is essentially a modern one.

[354]Stark, p. 500 (italics his).

[355]For the date of the <u>Devala-smṛti</u> see Kane, 2:390 note 928c.

[356]Ibid., 2:390-91 (verses 17-22).

[357]Ibid., 2:391.

[358]Ibid.

[359]B. N. Sharma, pp. 129-30 (verse 47).

[360]B. N. Puri, p. 117 (verse 51).

[361]<u>Chachnâmah</u>, pp. 222-23. Cf., p. 195.

[362]<u>Manu-smṛti</u>, pp. 119, 183, 414-15. Cf., Kane, 2:81-82, and Bose, 2:215-25.

[363]Hîrânanda, pp. 283-84 (verse 4). See above note 49, p. 181, for the occurrence of the term <u>mleccha</u> in other inscriptions.

[364]Balâdhurî, pp. 442-44; Ya^{c}qûbî, <u>Ta'rîkh</u>, 2:379-80, 388-90; Ibn al-Athîr, 4:589-90.

[365]Bose, 2:238; Tej Ram Sharma, <u>Personal and Geographical Names in the Gupta Inscriptions</u> (Delhi: Concept Publishing Co., 1978), pp. 149-52. John Hansman recently has argued the equivalence of the ancient <u>meluhha</u> and <u>mleccha</u> with the region of Eastern Mukrân, and <u>magan</u> with Western Mukrân. See his "A Periplus of Magan and Meluhha," with an "Annexe" by H. W. Bailey, <u>BSOAS</u> 36 (1973):554-87.

[366]Kane, 2:392-93.

[367]R. C. Hazra, <u>Studies in the Purânic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs</u> (Calcutta: University of Dacca, 1940; reprint ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), p. 205.

[368]It is clear from Bîrûnî (<u>Tahqîq</u>, 2:162-63), who gives the normal North Indian and what appears to be Devala's tradition on this topic, that the repurification is both of caste and religion, the two being inseparable.

[369]This certainly is the understanding of the Chachnâmah, pp. 136-37.

[370]Manu-smṛti, pp. 474-75.

[371]Ibid., pp. 172, 462.

[372]Ibid., p. 474.

[373]Ibid., pp. 464, 466.

[374]Bîrûnî, Taḥqîq, 2:162-63.

[375]Kane, 2:389-92.

[376]J. T. F. Jordens, "Reconversion to Hinduism, the Shuddhi of the Arya Samaj," in Religion in South Asia: Religious Conversion and Revival Movements in South Asia in Medieval and Modern Times, ed. G. A. Oddie (New Delhi: Manohar, 1977), pp. 146, 153.

CHAPTER IV

SINDÎ MUSLIMS

Introduction

The religious history of post-conquest Islam in Arab Sind is difficult to reconstruct due to the paucity of explicit references in the primary sources. The historians are not of much use here since they were interested primarily in those political events (e.g., the appointment and dismissal of governors) within Sind which related to matters of concern in the central heartlands. The majority of the material directly bearing on religious developments comes from the fragmentary reports of the geographers and travellers visiting Sind who were, in any case, more concerned with topographic or hydrographic information. Indeed, from the point of view of the available sources with information on Sind, the religious history of Islam in the region belongs to a dark age.

As a result, it is not surprising that scholars have turned to the only material of apparent promise: the many biographical dictionaries which occasionally note the names of individuals with a _nisbah_ relating to Sind or its towns and regions. It was very tempting, in light of the insufficiency of other materials, to use this onomastic information by assuming that those individuals bearing a Sind-related _nisbah_ were

actually from the province of Sind, and by so doing construct a religious history of the region. It was also, as will become apparent, a task with its own particular kind of impediments which often led its proponents into defending untenable positions.

The history of the study of Sindî nisbahs. The pioneer study of Sindî biographies of the Arab period was undertaken by ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy al-Bârîlî (d. 1341/1923) in his influential Nuzhat al-khawâṭir.[1] Following a traditional ṭabaqât method of organization by centuries, he listed a number of individuals who were either in India or else carried a nisbah relative to the area. Since he was not concerned solely with religion or Arab Sind, he also considered political figures and non-Sindî Indians. It is a highly selective list, containing many minor governors of Sind, yet excluding some major figures.[2] He does, however, enumerate more than a dozen individuals with a Sind-related nisbah.[3] As far as the religious history of Arab Sind is concerned, his study is compromised by the small number of Sindîs given, the lack of a critical apparatus, and the reliance on a single source (ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. Muḥammad al-Samᶜânî),[4] which in turn is not always accurately comprehended.[5] Moreover, there is an implicit assumption that individuals bearing nisbahs related to Sind were actually from Arab Sind, and this is explicitly confirmed by many of those writing after him and on his authority.[6]

Despite its limitations, ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy's research showed the way to the Arabic biographical material and influenced subsequent generations of historians who followed his method of

organization (lists of names and verbatim quotes from primary sources) and accepted his list of scholars as the initial basis for expansion. The line of analysis was cumulative and consisted of constantly expanding lists of individuals with Sindî or Indian connection. It comprises one important approach to the study of post-conquest Islam in Arab Sind which is best represented in recent years by the many erudite volumes published in Arabic and Urdu by the qâḍî Abû al-Ma^câlî Aṭhar Mubârakpûrî.[7] The qâḍî has taken the inclusive method of the extreme, claiming anyone with any conceivable relationship to Sind or Hind, accompanied by a very broad definition of what is Indian and an uncritical approach to the primary sources.[8]

The first critical study of Muslim scholars with Sindî nisbahs was undertaken by Muhammad Ishaq in the initial part of his Ph.D. dissertation (published as India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature).[9] For the first time, we find the useful distinction between Muslims within Sind and Sindî Muslims abroad.[10] Unfortunately, such a desirable theoretical development suffered from the absence of any explicit rationale for differentiating between the two groups. It is not clear why he claims some traditionists personally for Sind and others simply as descendants of Sindîs. It is certainly not on the basis of confirmation of Sindî origin in the text since, for example, he includes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hârûn al-Daybulî among those Muslims actually in Sind ("born at Daybul") solely on the basis of the nisbah,[11] and Khalaf b. Sâlim al-Sindî among the "war-prisoners" outside of Sind also on the basis of the nisbah

(even though Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî informs us that Khalaf was a Sindî).[12] The only apparent dissimilarity between the two groups is that those he considers actually from Sind carry the local nisbahs al-Daybulî, al-Manṣûrî, and al-Quṣdârî, while those he deems Sindîs abroad just carry the nisbah al-Sindî. It is not clear why this should make a significant difference: surely individuals with first generation nisbahs belong to the same class, at least in the absence of textual confirmation that they were actually from Sind.

Recent years have seen a resurgence of interest in Sindî nisbahs.[13] ᶜAbd Allâh Mubashshir al-Ṭirâzî al-Ḥusaynî, in his University of Karachi Ph.D. dissertation, "Ta'rîkh al-nahḍah al-thaqâfîyah li-bilâd al-Sind," has devoted a section to the culture of Sind which discusses, inter alia, the biographies of Sindîs.[14] He has combined the two lines of analysis, dividing the Sindî biographies, following Ishaq, into those within and outside of Sind, and then listing them according to century, following ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy via Mubârakpûrî.[15] There are certain problems with his approach to the biographies, some of which are shared by the previously mentioned works and some of which are unique to Ḥusaynî. For example, he emulates Mubârakpûrî by including in his list anyone with any conceivable connection to greater India.[16] But while Mubârakpûrî is partially justified in so far as he is writing of India, Ḥusaynî is concerned specifically with culture in Sind and what he terms Sindî ᶜulamâ'. Thus it is difficult to accept his claims for Arab Sind of all individuals bearing the nisbahs al-Hindî, al-Kâbulî, al-Dâwarî,

al-Bâmiyânî, al-Malîbârî, al-Kasî, al-Bûqânî, al-Kulhî, and al-Bâsandî, to which he incorrectly affixes the nisbah al-Sindî.[17] He does not provide a rationale for accepting these scholars as Sindî and, indeed, it is highly unlikely that they were.

Ḥusaynî not only has problems with establishing just who is a Sindî, but also with differentiating Sindîs within Sind from those abroad.[18] No justification is either given (like Ishaq) or discernible (unlike Ishaq) for inclusion in either of his lists. In a somewhat haphazard manner, he considers some individuals to be actually from Sind and others not solely on the evidence of the nisbah. He regards Sindî b. Abî Hârûn (the teacher of Musaddad) as one of the ᶜulamâ' actually living in Sind, and yet considers Sindî b. Abân and Sindî b. ᶜAbduwayh among those living abroad.[19] The evidence in all three cases is onomastic. The lack of precision and methodological clarity in his two lists and in his biographies in general seriously compromises his discussion of Sindî culture.

General trends in the analysis of Sindî nisbahs. It can be seen that the secondary research on Sindî biographies has contained some major errors, both in methodology and in actual research. Perhaps the fundamental problem emerges from the use which has been made of Sindî nisbahs in order to establish that Sind--with its local centres at Daybul, Manṣûrah, and Quṣdâr--was an important Islamic centre in the classical period. Thus, for example, Mumtaz Pathan has argued on the basis of Sindî biographies that Sindîs not only absorbed the Arab Muslim cul-

ture but "made additions to it by contributions which stand unique in the history of human civilization"[20] and hence "the country of Sind had played a leading role in the development of cultural and literary activities in the Arab world and produced some of the leading figures in religious studies and literature."[21] While the desire to establish the importance of Arab Sind as a major Islamic centre is no doubt understandable as a reaction to nineteenth century British scholarship which uniformly disparaged the Muslim culture of Arab Sind,[22] it is unfortunate since it led to questionable data and conclusions.

The Islamic centre thesis was normally supported through the expansion of the numbers of Muslims bearing a nisbah related to Sind, all of whom were often assumed to be important as individuals to the development of Islam within Sind. The drawbacks of such an inclusive approach were myriad. First, there was a definite lack of clarity in establishing just what was in fact Sind and who was a Sindî. In general, a very broad criterion was adopted which allowed proponents of this viewpoint to claim for Sind anyone mentioned, even if peripherally, relative to India or with a nisbah broadly related to India or any of its adjoining regions, including areas of Central Asia and South India.[23] Assuming wrongly that Kâbul was part of Arab Sind,[24] scholars have claimed for Sind (normally adding the nisbah al-Sindî) such eminent Muslims as Imâm Abû Ḥanîfah,[25] Imâm Makḥûl al-Shâmî,[26] and the Mu^{c}tazilite ^{c}Amr b. ^{c}Ubayd al-Baṣrî.[27] The nisbah al-Hindî has usually been considered equivalent to al-Sindî,[28] despite the evidence of the primary sources,[29] allowing

all Indians to be treated as Sindîs and all things Indian as Sindî, thus permitting the claim that, for example, the Arabic Kalîlah wa-Dimnah, a famous collection of animal fables based on the Sanskrit Pañcatantra, was "the first philosophical work of Sind which found its way into Arabic literature."[30]

Furthermore, the inclusive method has operated with a lack of critical control. This takes the form of a general unwillingness to accept cogent evidence for a preferable non-Sindî form of a nisbah. In many cases, an individual is claimed for Sind if one source gives a Sind-related nisbah even if other earlier sources prefer a non-Sindî form of the nisbah. Thus, one finds Dabîlîs considered Daybulîs,[31] all Manṣûrîs to be from Manṣûrah in Sind,[32] and assorted Sarîs and Sayyidîs read as Sindîs.[33] Moreover, the urge to expand on available Sindîs has blinded certain recent historians to possible duplications. One finds the same two Sindîs uniformly doubled to four distinct individuals (each supplied with a different date),[34] and a typographical error of Abû Bishr al-Dawlâbî (giving Abû Ma^c^shar Yaḥyâ al-Sindî for Abû Ma^c^shar Najîḥ al-Sindî) taken as evidence of two different Sindî traditionists, both with the same nisbah, kunyah, and teachers.[35] In these examples alone, six Sindî traditionists appear where there should rightly be three.

In addition, there is the evident difficulty of dividing the Sindîs into those actually from Sind and those abroad. While such a distinction is certainly valid, those few scholars who have attempted it have done so in a very desultory manner.[36]

As previously observed, individuals have been claimed for one or the other class on the same evidence of the *nisbah*, regardless of textual confirmation of Sindî origin. In the absence of an explicit rationale guiding the differentiation, it is impossible to accept that those Sindî scholars designated in the secondary literature as being actually from Sind were in fact so.

Finally, the analysis has tended to focus sharply on the quality of Islam in Sind, as evidenced by the numbers of *nisbah* holders. As a result, one finds long onomastic lists but seldom any aggregate analysis of the population of *nisbah* holders to indicate long-range trends and preoccupations. That is, the prosopographical research horizon was constrained by the reduction of the analysis to the simple level of proving the importance of Sind in the religious history of Islam.

Recent criticism of the use of Sindî nisbahs. Given these difficulties, it is not surprising that the validity of using Sindî *nisbahs* has been questioned in recent years. But, as we shall see, these arguments also raise uncertainties and are not completely convincing. The first such critique was directed at the alleged Indian influences on Ṣûfism posited as being communicated through Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî to his companion Abû Yazîd al-Bisṭâmî.

The Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî controversy. While the possibilities of Indian influence on Bisṭâmî via Abû ᶜAlî have been mooted

for many years,[37] the most active case was made by R. C. Zaehner in a thesis elaborated in two books, Mysticism: Sacred and Profane and Hindu and Muslim Mysticism.[38] Basing his argument on Abû ᶜAlî's nisbah, Zaehner concluded that he was from the Indian province of Sind, that he was a convert (since Bisṭâmî taught him "how to perform the obligatory duties of Islam");[39] and since a convert from Sind, then necessarily a convert from Hinduism; and if Hindu, then surely acquainted with Śaṅkaran monism, which "ultimate truths" he communicated to Bisṭâmî. The starting point of his argument rests on Abû ᶜAlî's nisbah al-Sindî.

Zaehner's thesis elicited a heated and prolonged response from Islamicists, particularly A. J. Arberry.[40] Among other things, it was claimed that the nisbah al-Sindî might not refer to the province of the Indus, but to a small village of the same name in Khurâsân[41] or even to al-Sindîyah, a village near Baghdâd.[42] The argument is tendentious in the extreme. If one accepts that the nisbah is actually al-Sindî (and not some variation such as al-Suddî, as suggested by Samarrai),[43] then it is highly unlikely that the nisbah refers to any place other than the well-known province of Sind.[44] As far as the village of al-Sindîyah is concerned, Ibn Khallikân writes:

> As-Sindiya is the name of a village situated on the (canal called) Nahr Isa, between Baghdad and al-Anbar. To indicate that a person is a native of this place, they say Sindawani (not Sindi), lest he should be taken for a native of Sind, the country which lies on the border of India.[45]

Thus, if the village of Sindîyah were intended, the nisbah would

be al-Sindawânî and not al-Sindî. To accept the cogency of the argument that the nisbah al-Sindî refers to some place other than the normal ("the country which lies on the borders of India"), it would be necessary to adduce some evidence of it actually being used for another place. No such evidence has been forthcoming. However, this is not to say that Abû ^cAlî al-Sindî must have come personally from Sind. There is nothing in the text which either supports or detracts from that conclusion. It is simply impossible to say.[46]

Arberry's second major criticism relative to the Sindî nisbah is that even if it refers to the province of Sind and Abû ^cAlî himself was from Sind, he was probably a descendant of the Arab conquerors and not a convert, the implication being that he would not then be acquainted with Hindu concepts. After all, he argues, "many descendants of the original Arab conquerors of Sind, accomplished as early as 713, would have called themselves al-Sindi."[47] It is tempting to accept his analysis here (as has Abdur Rabb, uncritically)[48] and assume that a Sindî nisbah must refer to descendants of Arab settlers and not converts. Unfortunately, the primary sources do not easily allow such a conclusion. Arberry's own examples of individuals bearing a Sindî nisbah who were descendants of the Arab conquerors do not bear up to close scrutiny. The tradition that Najîḥ al-Sindî was white and of "Himyarite stock" is explicitly given by Ibn Ḥajar as a minority tradition ("a few say that his origin was from Ḥimyar");[49] it probably derives from the fact that he was a mawlâ of Umm Mûsâ al-Ḥimyarîyah.[50] In any case, there is

a general consensus among the primary authorities that Najîḥ was a black, manumitted slave from the province of Sind who was unable, despite his scholarship, to pronounce Arabic properly (giving Muḥammad b. Qa^c^b instead of Ka^c^b).[51] If he was a descendant of Arab settlers, it is highly unlikely that he would mispronounce Arabic. In the case of the poet Abû ^c^Aṭâ' al-Sindî, whose father was from Sind, it is also improbable that he was an Arab descendant since he (not just his father) pronounced Arabic poorly and, moreover, was a black akhrab slave--according to ^c^Amr b. Baḥr al-Jâḥiẓ, a designation for Sindî slaves with slit ears.[52] Indeed, there is not a single individual with a Sindî nisbah who can definitely be proven to have been a descendant of the Arab conquerors. While it is true that a few Sindîs carried a nisbah of tribes known to have been important in the conquest, they could as well be mawâlî and hence descendants of converts who entered into a client relationship with that tribe.[53]

Nevertheless, those who refute the Abû ^c^Alî al-Sindî thesis are quite correct on the hazards of asserting that a particular individual was personally from Sind solely on the basis of the nisbah. This may or may not be true. The point is taken. However, it is also necessary to conclude that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that the nisbah al-Sindî refers to some place other than the province of the Indus or that the individual holding the nisbah was necessarily a descendant of Arab settlers.

The Islamic centre controversy. Yohanan Friedmann has recently published an article which, inter alia, assesses the use which has been made of Sindî nisbahs in the secondary Urdu literature.[54] Friedmann argues, basically from Sam^c^ânî's Ansâb, that those scholars with Sindî nisbahs had little if anything to do with Sind itself since their contribution to Muslim thought took place outside of Sind. He even suggests that the occurrence of a Sindî nisbah only means that people of Indian (not just Sindî) origin were in the Middle East. Writing about Sam^c^ânî's list of scholars with Sind-related nisbahs, he concludes that

> . . . the brief biographies of these persons can only indicate that Muslims of Indian extraction participated (in the third and fourth centuries) in the development of Islamic learning in the major cultural centres to which they migrated. One can hardly draw from this material any valid conclusions concerning the degree to which the study of hadîth flourished in Sind itself. It may even be argued that al-Sam^c^ânî's data indicate that among Sindîs interested in hadîth there was a distinct trend to migrate from their native land to the major centres of the Islamic world which certainly offered better opportunities for the study of hadîth.[55]

The first part of this argument has been seen before--that the nisbah al-Sindî might not refer to the Indus province of Sind. Here, Friedmann implies that it is geographically vague and simply means Indian. This assumption is also implicit in the Islamic centre theorists (who are criticized by Friedmann) who feel free to use all Indian nisbahs with reference to Sind. As earlier, this assumption must be rejected as unproven and unlikely. The classical Arab geographers were quite clear about what they meant by Sind (the Arab occupied province of the trans-Indus) and Hind (the rest of the subcontinent).

Moreover, Friedmann is perhaps unfortunate in his choice of seven examples to illustrate the nonconnection of Sind-related nisbahs to region: Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Daybulî was definitely in Sind at a relatively mature age since he received a tradition in Daybul from ᶜAlî b. Mûsâ al-Daybulî (who was thus in Sind himself);[56] Abû al-ᶜAbbâs Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣûrî was from the city of Manṣûrah in Sind and actually returned there after a period of study abroad;[57] Jaᶜfar b. al-Khaṭṭâb al-Quṣdârî was from the city of Quṣdâr in Ṭûrân (a region of Sind), although he studied elsewhere;[58] and Shuᶜayb b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad is properly read as al-Dabîlî and not al-Daybulî.[59] The other three individuals cannot definitely be placed in Sind. Yet it is interesting that Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Daybulî did transmit ḥadîth to his compatriot Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Daybulî.[60] Likewise, this latter traditionist had other Sindî connections in addition to his teacher: e.g., he studied under ᶜAbdân b. Aḥmad along with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daybulî, under Ibn Khuzaymah with Muḥammad b. Rajâ' al-Sindî, under al-Firyâbî with Aḥmad b. al-Sindî, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daybulî, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Daybulî, and under Abû Khalîfah with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daybulî.[61]

Despite his examples, Friedmann's analysis is to the point. As noted previously, much of the research which has been carried out to prove the importance of Sind as an Islamic centre has serious defects: not least among these is the attribution of a personal importance to the religious history of Sind to an individual solely on the basis of his nisbah. But this is

not to say that there is no general relationship between nisbah and region.

Nisbah and region. Recent prosopographical research on geographical and occupational nisbahs for regions other than Sind has underlined the difficulty of attributing an individual to a specific region or profession solely on the basis of the nisbah, while still maintaining the general relationship between region and nisbah, at least in aggregate on the part of populations.[62] Hayyim J. Cohen, for example, has studied in considerable detail the occupational and geographical nisbahs of the classical period. He observes:

> As for those who did bear a geographic nisba, or even those who are described in the source as coming from a given town, it is hard to tell whether this means that they were born there, that they had lived there, or perhaps only that their fathers or forefathers had been born there.[63]

While this is specifically the case with individuals, it also produces the possibility of distortion in the case of populations (especially where the numbers are small). Nevertheless, despite his reservations, Cohen did proceed to draw on the nisbahs to show that there was a rough correlation between region and occupation. For example, he found that scholars with a Kûfan nisbah tended to be silk merchants more often than scholars with a Baṣran nisbah which "corroborates the well-known fact that Kûfah was an important centre of silk manufacture and embroidery."[64] He also found significant correlations, via the nisbah, for Khûzistân and silk, Khurâsân and cotton, followed in the fourth century A.D. with Egypt and cotton.[65]

That is, there is good evidence to accept a general relationship between nisbah and region on the part of populations, although not necessarily individuals. Cohen's observations concerning occupational nisbahs are suggestive:

> Since the custom of adopting a family name based on a nisba was, as we have seen, relatively new, and since such names were not likely to hold out in the family for too many generations without an actual association with the occupation, we may assume that in many cases the occupational nisba of the particular scholar reflected accurately at least, if not his own occupation, then perhaps the economic background in which he had grown up.[66]

The same thing, perhaps, can be suggested for geographical nisbahs. While a Sind-related nisbah may not mean that the individual in question actually came from Sind, it probably minimally reflects the ethnic background in which the person was raised. Without some association with the object of the regional nisbah (Sind), then it would probably disappear, as Cohen suggests is the case with occupational nisbahs. Those bearing such a nisbah would have perceived themselves or been perceived by others as being generally related to a group called Sindî.

Indeed, there is compelling evidence that the Arabs recognized such a category of descent as Sindî and sharply differentiated it from other descent categories. Jâḥiẓ, for example, attributes certain qualities to a group termed Sindî who were, it seems, particularly adept at money-changing (ṣarf).[67] Similarly, he asserts that, in sharp contrast to the Zanj, Sindîs residing in the central heartland observed the customs of their ancestors and consequently did not attempt to alter their social status by revolting.[68] While this allegation may or may not be

true, it does show that Sindîs were apprehended as a distinct category, sharing and perpetuating certain recognizable traits. They were also, as in the case of Abû Ma^cshar al-Sindî and Abû ^cAṭâ' al-Sindî, perceived as mispronouncing Arabic in a certain identifiably Sindî way, a mode of pronunciation which is even today characteristic of the inhabitants of Sind.[69] The self-perception (and its attendant ambivalencies) of being Sindî is illustrated by an anecdote of the scholar al-Faṭh b. ^cAbd Allâh al-Sindî who, on being criticized in Iṣfahân by a drunk Arab noble, replied: "I am following the customs (âthâr) of your ancestors, while you are following the customs of my ancestors."[70] It is clear from his reply that his ancestors were not Arabs (i.e., he came from a convert family) and, moreover, that being a Sindî was in some ways recognizably disreputable. This would appear to be reflected in al-Sha^cbî's dictum: "Love him whom you see doing good, even if he be a Sindî."[71]

Finally, there is good reason to conclude that the category (as opposed to the individual) Sindî was in fact related to the region of Sind and its political, religious, and socio-economic history. Perhaps the strongest evidence for accepting such a relationship is that the occurrence of Sindî nisbahs declines sharply in the fourth/tenth century and disappears almost entirely in the fifth/eleventh century.[72] This is precisely the period of political and economic instability in Sind during the later Habbârids, Sâmids, and the subsequent Ghaznavid invasions. If there were no general relationship between region

and nisbah, then one would expect the incidence of Sindî nisbahs abroad (if not the occupational pattern) to remain relatively constant over time, and this is not the case. As Cohen has indicated, a nisbah was not likely to survive long without some association with the object of the nisbah.

In addition, the relationship between nisbah and region is strongly supported in the case of Sind by the evidence of the collated biographies, when analyzed and compared to the independent accounts directly bearing on the region. For example, the vast majority of individuals bearing Sind-related nisbahs are traditionists (73 percent of all individuals, 85 percent of all non-Shî^{c}ites), which is supported by data specifically for the province of Sind.[73] Moreover, a significant portion of these traditionists were aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth ("partisans-of tradition"), and this too is directly noted for Sind by Maqdisî who travelled there and was in a position to know.[74] In consequence, it is reasonable to conclude, as Cohen does for other regions, that there is indeed a general relationship between a Sindî nisbah and the region of Sind on the part of populations although not individuals.

Methodology. In light of the foregoing, the remainder of the chapter is organized with the following considerations.

1. The population utilized in the aggregate analysis includes all individuals who carried a Sind-related nisbah and had a religious function. I have not considered such individuals

as the poet Abû ^cAṭâ' al-Sindî, the politician Sindî b. Shâhik, or the many Sindî wives of notables on the grounds that this chapter is concerned solely with religion, not simply Sindîs abroad. Individuals whose ancestors may have come from Sind are not included unless they retained a Sindî *nisbah*, on the basis of the aforementioned rationale that the retention of *nisbah* reflects a Sindî identification, even if not necessarily individual and direct. Thus, I have excluded from consideration such individuals as al-Awzâ^cî who may or may not (it is debatable) have been descended from Sindî slaves, but did not retain a Sindî *nisbah*.

2. The *nisbahs* utilized in this study have been limited to those unequivocally related to the province of Sind: i.e., al-Sindî, al-Daybulî, al-Manṣûrî (but only when specified relative to Manṣûrah in Sind), and al-Quṣdârî (variation al-Quzdârî). All other geographic *nisbahs* have been rejected on the grounds that they either were not or cannot definitely be established as being within the geographic limits of Arab Sind. Also discarded are the unsupported tribal *nisbahs* of al-Zuṭṭî, al-Aḥmarî, al-Aswârî, and al-Baysarî (except in the single case of a textual confirmation of Sindî origin) since the tribal group could be Indian as well as Sindî. Where there exists a reasonable doubt over the correct form of a *nisbah* (e.g., al-Dabîlî rather than al-Daybulî), the individual in question has been rejected.

3. Chronologically, the scope of the enquiry extends

from the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest (93-96/711-14) until the end of the fifth/eleventh century. I have extended the period covered by the onomastic data beyond that of Arab Sind proper in order to demonstrate long-range trends.

4. The biographies have been divided into two sections: (a) those individuals for whom there is textual confirmation that they were at some time in the region of Sind, and (b) those individuals for whom only the nisbah is available. Both sections are considered the population for analysis. Out of a total of seventy biographies, there is textual confirmation of a Sindî connection for only eleven (15.7 percent). This is a relatively low percentage and indicates the marginal nature of many of the careers. The actual biographies on which the analysis is based have been placed in a separate appendix.

5. In this chapter, the population of Muslims bearing Sind-related nisbahs are termed Sindî Muslims. It is always to be contrasted with Muslims in Sind.

6. The method of analysis can be termed prosopographical in the sense that it is the aggregate analysis of the individuals of a specific population (Sind-related nisbahs) to disinter salient characteristics of the group as a whole and over time.[75] That is, the concern is with general trends and not with particular individuals. Specifically, I am interested in ascertaining whether the group bearing Sind-related nisbahs had a particular

religious preoccupation and whether this changed significantly during the period of Arab rule. I am also interested in the chronological rise and decline of the population as a whole. It has been necessary to confine sharply the analysis to these general areas due to limitations in the data base. The quantity and quality of the available biographical material on Sindî Muslims is simply inadequate to draw long-range conclusions on tribal affiliations, mercantile occupations, and other similar matters.

7. After collating the biographies in order to determine the religious preoccupations of the population over time, the data have been confronted with the geographical, historical, and epigraphic information directly bearing on the province of Sind. This is a crucial part of the analysis. By so doing, I hope to derive, as far as possible, a relatively clear, although necessarily general, picture of the Islamic preoccupations of Sindî Muslims and Muslims in Sind throughout the Arab period. There is no doubt of the difficulties of this approach, but as Sir Ronald Symes put it in justifying prosopography, "one uses what one has, and there is work to be done."[76] And there is very little to work with for post-conquest Islam in Arab Sind.

Traditionists

The vast majority of Sindî Muslim religious elite of whom there is record, both inside and outside of Sind, were traditionists (see table 2). Indeed, fifty-one of the total seventy Sindî Muslims (72.0 percent of all individuals, 56.0 percent of all professions named) were traditionists of some type in the simple sense that they transmitted ahâdîth ("traditions"). The biographical data become even more revealing if one includes in this group the ten individuals who were transmitters of Shî^c^ite traditions, in which case sixty-one of the seventy (87.1 percent) were traditionists. Excluding the Shî^c^ites from the total, fifty-one of the remaining sixty Sindî Muslims (85.0 percent) were traditionists. Clearly, the major Islamic orientation of Sindî Muslims was the transmission and study of traditions.

This occupational preference remains relatively constant throughout the period of Arab rule in Sind. While the number of traditionists noted in the literature declines precipitously in the fourth/tenth century, as do all religious professions, the traditionists still remain the major grouping of Sindî Muslims (see table 3). One does not find an interest in fiqh (jurisprudence) developing among Sindî Muslims in the later period, as happened elsewhere in the Middle East. In fact, the biographical data reveal the second largest group to be mystics and ascetics (thirteen individuals) and the third largest to be Shî^c^ites (ten individuals), not jurists (seven individuals).

TABLE 2

RELIGIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF SINDÎ MUSLIMS

150-500/767-1106*

Occupation	In Sind	Other	All	Percentage
Traditionists . . .	9	42	51	56.04 (72.86)
Mystics/Ascetics. .	2	11	13	14.29 (18.57)
Shî^c^ites.	0	10	10	10.99 (14.29)
Jurists	3	4	7	7.69 (10.00)
Qur'ânic Scholars .	1	5	6	6.59 (8.57)
Judges	1	1	2	2.20 (2.86)
Theologians/ Philosophers. . .	0	2	2	2.20 (2.86)
Total	16(11)	75(59)	91(70)	

*The total and percentage is of occupations; the total and percentage in parenthesis is of individuals.

TABLE 3

RELIGIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF SINDÎ MUSLIMS BY FIFTY YEAR PERIODS ACCORDING TO DATE OF DEATH, 150-500/767-1106*

Occupation	Date of Death 150-200	200-250	250-300	300-350	350-400	400-450	450-500	Total
Traditionists . . .	8	13	12	9	6	2	1	51
Mystics/Ascetics . .	2	4	1	3	2	1	0	13
Shî[c]ites	5	2	3	0	0	0	0	10
Jurists	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	7
Qur'ânic Scholars .	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	6
Judges	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Theologians/ Philosophers . . .	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Total	15(13)	24(17)	16(16)	17(12)	14(8)	4(3)	1(1)	91(70)

*The total is of occupations; the total in parenthesis is of individuals.

Not only were the majority of Sindî Muslims studying abroad traditionists, but the data indicate a similar occupational predominance within Sind. Among those eleven Sindî Muslims who were definitely in Sind at some period of their lives, nine (81.8 percent) were traditionists (see table 1), a percentage somewhat higher than that of the group as a whole (72.9 percent). Moreover, the astute geographer and traveller Maqdisî directly confirms an interest in the study of traditions within the Arab province of Sind.[77] As a result, a discussion of Sindî Muslims and Islam in Sind must necessarily take the traditionists as its focal point. All other religious occupational groups are insignificant in comparison.

There are several questions of fundamental importance concerning the study of hadîth among Sindî Muslims and within Arab Sind. First, what type of traditionists were the Sindî Muslims? Second, how was the interest in the study of hadîth transmitted to the province of Sind? Third, when did traditionism peak and decline among both Sindî Muslims and Muslims in Sind? Fourth, does the peak correspond to the growth of regional schools at Daybul, Manṣûrah, Multân, and Quṣdâr? Finally, why was there such a predominant interest in the study of traditionism among Sindî Muslims and Muslims in Sind? Each of these questions will be discussed in turn. The analysis of the reasons for the decline in the incidence of traditionists will be reserved for the next chapter.

Aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth. The first point that becomes apparent from the biographical data is that a significant number of Sindî Muslims were not simply muḥaddithûn ("traditionists") in the sense that they transmitted traditions, but belonged to the group known as aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth ("partisans of tradition"), which is to say those Muslims who "based their decisions on the Qur'ân and the Ḥadîth rather than on consensus of opinion, analogy, and personal opinion."[78] That is, the group under consideration not only transmitted traditions but maintained the primary importance of ḥadîth texts (rather than the community tradition or individual reasoning) in questions governing the lives of Muslims.

The Sindî orientation toward an aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth system is evidenced by the names of the teachers and students of Sindî traditionists. Twenty-three of the Sindî traditionists were teachers or students of individuals listed in Ibn al-Nadîm's short account of the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth.[79] While it is true that there is a certain amount of plasticity in such lists,[80] there is confirmatory evidence for the presence of significant numbers of "partisans of tradition" in the province of Sind itself. Maqdisî, who visited Sind before 375/985, specifies directly and unequivocally that "most of them are aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth."[81] Unfortunately, this is the extent of his information: he neither names particular individuals nor outlines the group's activities within Sind.

Maqdisî's observation is confirmed, however, by three Kufic inscriptions which have recently been uncovered in the ruins of the Arab period mosque at Daybul and support an aṣḥâb

al-ḥadîth position vis-à-vis the Muᶜtazilites.[82] According to Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), all the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth are in agreement that "God will be seen on the day of resurrection" and that "the Qur'ân is the speech of God not created . . . in every circumstance, recited, written, heard, remembered, is uncreated."[83] Inscription number four from Daybul would appear to be referring to the first of these positions since it quotes the Qur'ân (28: 29-30) concerning Moses and the burning bush; a verse used to justify the actual vision of God since Moses was able to see him.[84] The fact that this public inscription was perforated in order to be attached to the walls of the mosque suggests the importance of this doctine to the Daybulese. Two further inscriptions from Daybul, which probably originally formed a single unit, refer to the Qur'ân as the word of God (kalâm allâh) and God as the Speaker (mutakallim) who speaks with it.[85] This no doubt reflects the position of the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth concerning the Qur'ân as the uncreated speech of God.[86]

The authority of the inscriptions and Maqdisî's clear statement, when combined with the evidence of the biographical data, definitely suggest that a significant proportion of Sindî traditions, both abroad and within Sind, were associated with the group termed the "partisans of tradition."

The transmission of ḥadîth learning to Sind. The secondary literature concerned with traditionism in Arab Sind has focussed its attention primarily on identifying the precise agency communicating an interest in the study of traditions to

Sind. Some scholars have attempted to locate the initial transmitters in the early pre-conquest Companions (ṣaḥâbah) and Associates (tâbi^cûn) who participated in the initial raids on Mukrân and the frontier of Sind.[87] Indeed, there is an implicit assumption that the further back in time towards the life of the Prophet one can trace the link, the more potent was the agency for transmission for Sind itself. Mubârakpûrî, for example, cites a report of the Imâm al-Bukhârî (d. 256/869) that during the life of the Prophet, five Companions were dispatched to Nîrûn in Sind where they engaged in the transmission of ḥadîth and converted many of the town's inhabitants.[88] None of the Companions is named, however, and the incident is reported only by Bukhârî. Given the intense interest of early Muslim historians in establishing the whereabouts and activities of the Companions, if the incident were historical, then surely it would be mentioned elsewhere. Hence, while the report is interesting for what it reveals of later conversion precedence claims,[89] it is of little use in establishing an agency for the transmission of an interest in ḥadîth to early Sind. Moreover, while it is true that a number of Companions and Associates actually participated in the early raids on Mukrân and Sind, it is doubtful that they could have contributed meaningfully to ḥadîth transmission to Sindîs during these temporary and predatory incursions. If so, it would have been only in those areas of Western Mukrân which were occupied permanently before the final Thaqafite conquest of the Indus Valley.

It has been suggested by Muhammad Ishaq that an interest in the study of hadîth initially was brought to Sind by Arab traditionists who participated in the Thaqafite conquest and subsequently settled in the region.[90] Ishaq gives the single example of Mûsâ b. Ya^c^qûb al-Thaqafî who came to Sind at the time of the initial conquest, settled at Arôr, and was "highly learned in the Sunna of the Prophet."[91] It should be pointed out, however, that the evidence of Mûsâ's knowledge of traditions comes solely from a title given him in the Chachnâmah: "Sword of the Sunnah and star of the law" (sayf al-sunnah wa-najm al-sharî^c^ah).[92] The second/eighth century is much too early for such an honourary title; it was probably added by his direct descendant Ismâ^c^îl b. ^c^Alî al-Thaqafî from whom ^c^Alî b. Hâmid al-Kûfî received the Arabic manuscript which he translated as the Chachnâmah.[93] Apart from the title (which does not necessarily make him a traditionist), Mûsâ b. Ya^c^qûb was appointed qâdî and khatîb of Arôr and founded a dynasty of Thaqafite qâdîs of Arôr and Bhakkar which survived down to the seventh/thirteenth century.[94] Neither he nor any of his descendants were noted for the transmission of traditions. Hence, while the Thaqafite qâdîs probably contributed to the transmission of Islam to Sind, one must hesitate before assigning them a primary role in the transmission of hadîth learning.

Although Ishaq gives only the one example as support for his theory, a close reading of the sources for the Thaqafite conquest in conjunction with the biographical literature does reveal the presence in Sind of several individuals also noted

as traditionists. There is definite evidence of the presence of three traditionists in the army of conquest and indefinite evidence of four more. According to the Chachnâmah, ᶜAṭîyah b. Saᶜd al-ᶜAwfî was the commander of the right wing of the Thaqafite army after the conquest of Armâbîl in 93/711.[95] There is no doubt that this is the renowned traditionist and proto-Shîᶜite ᶜAṭîyah b. Saᶜd b. Junâdah al-ᶜAwfî (d. 111/729). The entire account of his sojourn in Sind is given by Ṭabarî, Ibn Saᶜd, and Ibn Ḥajar.[96] Secondly, the minor traditionist Zâ'idah b. ᶜUmayr al-Ṭâ'î definitely participated in the conquest of Multân (or Iskalandah near Multân) where he is said to have proven his valour.[97] Thirdly, the trustworthy (thiqah) traditionist Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî (d. 149/766) took part in the battle between the Arabs and Dâhir and the subsequent siege of Brahmanâbâd in 93/711.[98]

It is also possible that Muḥammad b. Ziyâd al-ᶜAbdî, a major Thaqafite commander, is the reliable Baṣran traditionist Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ᶜAbdî;[99] that Bishr b. ᶜAṭîyah al-Thaᶜlabî, a Thaqafite officer and associate of the above mentioned Muḥammad b. Ziyâd, is the traditionist Shamir b. ᶜAṭîyah b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân al-Asadî al-Thaᶜlabî;[100] and that Ziyâd b. al-Ḥawârî al-ᶜAbdî, a minor Thaqafite official, is the Baṣran traditionist Zayd b. al-Ḥawârî al-ᶜAmmî.[101] Ziyâd returned from Sind with a certain Abû Qays al-Qaysî who, in turn, might be the traditionist Abû Qays Ziyâd b. Rabâḥ, known as Abû Qays al-Qaysî al-Baṣrî.[102]

It is very difficult, however, to establish a connection

between the traditionists in the Thaqafite army and the later traditionists bearing Sind-related nisbahs or to assign them a role in the transmission of an interest in ḥadîth studies to Sind. For one thing, they are only mentioned relative to military or diplomatic matters in the conquest of Sind, never even broadly to either religion or traditions. Zâ'idah performed feats of bravery in the conquest of Multân; ᶜAṭîyah commanded a section of the army; Kahmas fought in the battle against Dâhir; Abû Qays carried the decapitated head of Dâhir back to al-Ḥajjâj. Secondly, none of them are said to have settled in Sind, and indeed they surely did not since they are noted later in other places. In consequence, any postulated influence would have been in the very short period of the actual military conquest of Sind (93-96/711-14). While one can speculate that they did in fact have a religious role, at least to the other Arab Muslims in the Thaqafite army, it is doubtful that they could have been instrumental at this early date in passing on either traditions or an interest in the study of traditions to the conquered Sindîs.

The next level of analysis carries some promising prospects. If it can be proven that certain traditionists settled in Sind during the post-Thaqafite conquest period, and engaged in ḥadîth transmission while there, then there is a good likelihood of ascertaining at least a partial agency of transmission. However, here too there are difficulties. Ishaq has isolated six post-conquest bearers of ḥadîth studies to Sind.[103] On closer examination, while two of these individuals may have

played a role, four could not have. As noted previously, Mûsâ b. Ya^cqûb al-Thaqafî, the qâdî of Arôr, was not a traditionist. Yazîd b. Abî Kabshah al-Saksakî, a minor traditionist and governor of Sind, died eighteen days after reaching Sind (96/714) and could not have had much impact on the study of hadîth in Sind.[104] Al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab, also a minor traditionist, merely fled to Sind where he was killed at Qandâbîl during the roundup of the Muhallabites following the collapse of the revolt of Yazîd b. al-Muhallab.[105] Finally, while al-Rabî[c] b. Sabîh al-Sa[c]dî al-Basrî is generally considered by modern scholars as the first traditionist to have come to Sind and assigned a primary role in the development of hadîth studies in the region,[106] there is no evidence that he was ever in Sind. He did accompany a naval raid made by the Arabs on Bârbad (Barada in Kathiawar), a city in India, in 159/775, and died at sea on its return to Basrah the following year.[107] It is of course possible that the fleet stopped at the Sindî port of Daybul on its way to India, but the sources do not say so.[108] Even if this were the case, his stay would not have been long enough to warrant any influence in Sind on the study of tradition. Even in Bârbad, it is highly unlikely that al-Rabî[c] would have been able to contribute to the transmission of hadîth studies, since the inhabitants of that plundered city would probably not have been receptive.

There are, however, five individuals who may well have played a role in transmission, since they were in post-conquest Sind for a period of time and were traditionists. Two of them

are mentioned by Ishaq. Isrâ'îl b. Mûsâ Nazîl al-Sind al-Baṣrî (d. ca. 155/771), whose biography is given in appendix C, is the only major traditionist definitely known to have immigrated to Arab Sind.[109] Unfortunately, it is not known when he reached Sind or what he did after his arrival; the sources are only concerned with his earlier remarkable career as a traditionist in Baṣrah. It is likely that he continued to be interested in the study and transmission of ḥadîth after reaching Sind; given his scholastic stature, it would be incredible if he were not. Secondly, ᶜAmr b. Muslim al-Bâhilî, a minor traditionist, was the governor of Sind from 99/717 to 101/719.[110] Here again there is no evidence of any activities on his part as a traditionist, although the conversion of the Sindî princes are attributed to his governorship.[111]

There were three other traditionists (not mentioned by Ishaq) who were present in post-conquest Sind and hence could have had an impact on the study of ḥadîth in the region. ᶜImrân b. al-Nuᶜmân al-Kalâᶜî, a governor of Sind from 97/715 to 99/717, was a minor traditionist who taught the eminent traditionist ᶜAbd Allâh b. al-Mubârak (d. 181/797).[112] Nothing at all is known of his activities while in Sind, either political or religious. Muḥammad (or Yazîd) b. ᶜIrâr (also given as ᶜIzzân and Ghazzân) b. Aws al-Kalbî, who was twice governor of Sind (120-22/737-39 and 126-29/743-46) where he died and was buried, was also a minor traditionist.[113] At a considerably later date, Ibrâhîm b. Mâlik Abû Isḥâq al-Bazzâz al-Baghdâdî (d. 264/877), a traditionist of some renown, is said to have travelled to Sind

regularly for the purpose of commerce.[114] As with the others, there is no explicit reference to his participating in ḥadîth transmission while in Sind.

It is very difficult to establish a direct link between the traditionists who were definitely in post-conquest Sind and later Sindî traditionists. Like the earlier traditionists who accompanied the Thaqafite army, none of these individuals are mentioned relative to either religious activities in general or ḥadîth transmission in particular while in Sind. However, in contrast to the earlier group, they did reside in Sind for a period of time subsequent to the conquest, and consequently the possibility of their inculcating an interest in ḥadîth remains. Moreover, it is reasonable to conclude that those traditionists who came to Sind maintained the interest in the study and transmission of traditions which they brought with them. It is highly unlikely that their actions while in Sind would be at dramatic variance with their actions elsewhere. The problem is to establish an explicit connection. If there was a direct personal influence, then one would expect that those traditionists who visited Sind would appear in the isnâds of early Sindî traditionists. But they do not.

To extend the analysis, perhaps a tentative connection might be accepted if the students of a traditionist definitely known to have been in Sind themselves had Sindî students. That is, it might serve as evidence that the traditionist in Sind had sent his Sindî students abroad to study with his previous non-Sindî students. However, this is only partly the case.

Isrâ'îl b. Mûsâ's student Sufyân al-Thawrî had two Sindî students, one of whom definitely came from Sind; two other non-Sindî students of Isrâ'îl, Sufyân b. ᶜUyaynah and Yaḥyâ b. Saᶜîd al-Qaṭṭân, each had a single Sindî student, one of whom was actually from Sind.[115] ᶜImrân b. al-Nuᶜmân's student Ibn al-Mubârak had two Sindî students and his Kitâb al-birr wa-al-ṣilah ("Book of Piety and Charity") was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm al-Daybulî.[116] However, this type of connection is extremely tenuous; none of these non-Sindî traditionists were obscure. The fact remains that none of the traditionists who can be placed definitely in post-conquest Arab Sind had a single Sindî student whose name has been preserved in the sources.

As a result, the available data are simply insufficient to establish the precise agency transmitting an interest in the study of ḥadîth to Sind. All that can really be said is that there were a few traditionists in Sind, both during the conquest and subsequently. This at least indicates a religious climate in early Arab Sind even if a more precise connection is not discernible. Whatever the agency, it is apparent that an interest in ḥadîth did develop among Sindî Muslims not long after the Arab conquest. The Sindî affiliations of the initial Sindî Muslims (those dying in the period 150-200/767-815) are stronger than usual: four of the eight traditionists of this period definitely came from Sind.[117] Thus their initial interest in traditions may have been stimulated in Sind, but by whom it is impossible to say, although the five traditionists noted above have the strongest claims for attention. Unless new sources

are forthcoming, however, the question of the precise agency for the transmission of an interest in the study of ḥadîth to Sind must remain undecided.

The chronology of traditionism in Sind. The timetable of traditionism in Arab Sind and among Sindî Muslims has been of some interest to modern scholars. Ishaq, in particular, has articulated a clearly stated theory concerning its rise, climax, and decline which has generally been accepted by subsequent historians.[118] In brief, he argues that after the introduction of ḥadîth studies by the Arab conquerors and settlers, "the study of Ḥadîth in Sind does not appear to have made much headway until the fourth century when great enthusiasm prevailed among native students to seek higher knowledge of the subject abroad."[119]

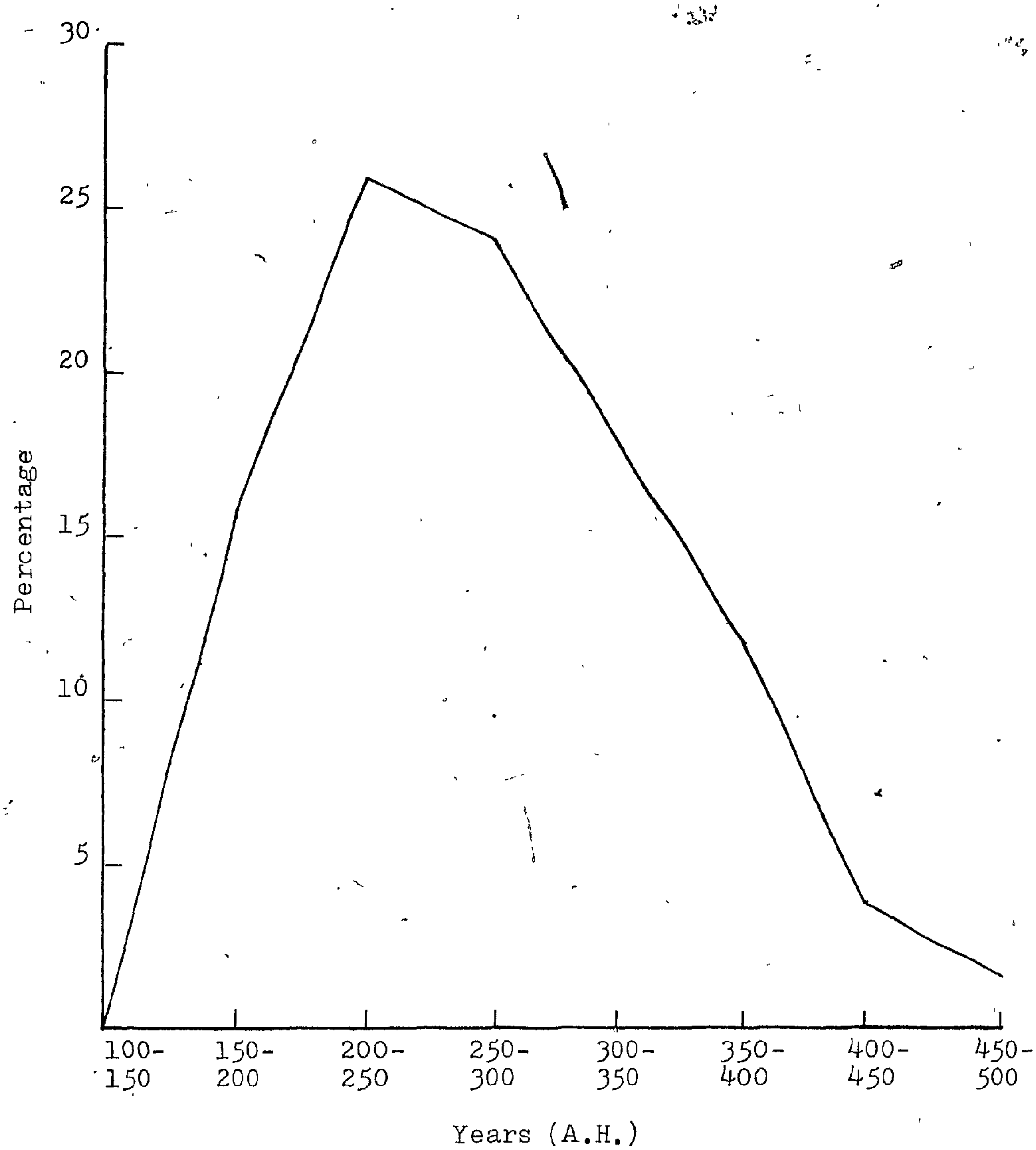
There are several parts to Ishaq's chronological theory. First, he perceives a definite lag between the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest and the posited golden age in the fourth/tenth century. This he attributes to two factors: the geographic isolation of Sind from the central heartlands and the lack of internal security under the Umayyad and ᶜAbbâsid governors.[120] The isolation and anarchy argument is important and reoccurs as Friedmann's explanation of why Arab Sind never developed as an Islamic centre and as Rizvi's reason for the absence of mystics in Arab Sind.[121] In Ishaq's scheme, the establishment of the independent Habbârid and Sâmid governments at Manṣûrah and Multân counteracted the anarchy in Arab Sind and, as a result, "whatever

progress the study of Ḥadîth made was due, primarily, to the internal security brought about by these Governments."[122] Thus, security brought about prosperity and allowed the development of independent regional centres for the study of hadîth at Daybul, Manṣûrah, and Quṣdâr in the fourth/tenth century. Finally, Ishaq sees this golden age of traditionism in Sind being destroyed solely through the actions of the Ismâᶜîlîs.

The biographical data do not lend support to any of these chronological contentions. Graph 1 gives the Sindî traditionists in fifty year periods according to dates of death from 100/718 to 500/1106, as a percentage of total traditionists (excluding Shîᶜites). As can readily be seen, the death-dates of Sindî traditionists evince a steady increase after the Arab conquest, rising to a peak in the third/ninth century. There is no apparent chronological gap between the time of the conquest and the fourth/tenth century. Sindî traditionists start appearing in the Middle East not long after the conquest. Najîḥ al-Sindî must have been in Medina not long after the conquest since he met (although he was too young to transmit from) Abû Imâmah b. Sahl who died around 100/718; Sindî b. Shamâs would have been in Baṣrah before 110/728 when his teacher Muḥammad b. Sîrîn died; and Abû al-Sindî Suhayl b. Dhakwân, an early resident of Wâsiṭ, and Isrâ'îl b. Mûsâ were both active in the late Umayyad period.[123] Moreover, as previously mentioned, the Sindî connections of these early traditionists were particularly strong: there is textual evidence that four of the eight came from Sind.

GRAPH 1

DEATH-DATES OF SINDÎ TRADITIONISTS BY FIFTY YEAR PERIODS, 100-500/718-1106, AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TRADITIONISTS (EXCLUDING SHÎ[c]ITES)



In consequence, it is not necessary to look for explanations for "the slow growth of Ḥadîth learning in Sind"[124] in the supposed anarchy and isolation of the region. In any case, it is not at all clear why the geographic isolation of Sind posited for the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries should not be operative in the following century. Surely Sind was as geographically isolated in all three centuries? If not, it must be proven, and it has not been. Moreover, it is difficult to see how the establishment of independent dynasties in Sind would lead to an increase in cultural communication between Sind and the central heartlands. On the contrary, one could reasonably expect less cultural contact between the Muslims of Sind and Muslims elsewhere under an independent Sindî dynasty than under a government ruled from Baghdâd.

Nor is there any compelling evidence that Sind had more internal security in the fourth/tenth century than in the preceding two centuries. The only apparent evidence of insecurity is the rapid circulation of governors of Sind during the early ᶜAbbâsid period.[125] But should one take this as an indication of insecurity or anarchy within Sind? This was a period of rapid circulation of governors in all parts of the ᶜAbbâsid empire. While it is true that during the caliphate of Hârûn al-Rashîd (170-93/786-809), Sind had eleven governors (two of whom were only temporary replacements and one of whom died before reaching Sind), during the same period Baṣrah had seventeen, Mecca fifteen, Medina eleven, and Kûfah and Yaman each had ten.[126] Surely one cannot argue that this was a period of

anarchy and hence little religious learning in Mecca or Baṣrah, both of which had more governors during the same period than Arab Sind. Moreover, following Hârûn, there was a period of fairly long-ruling governors of Sind in the Muhallabites (184-216/800-31) and Baramakids (216-27/831-41).[127] Indeed, as Hugh Kennedy points out, the longest tenure of any early ᶜAbbâsid governor was that of Dâ'ûd b. Yazîd al-Muhallabî (184-205/800-20) in Sind.[128]

Not only was there no two century lag after the Arab conquest, but the peak period of ḥadîth transmission was not at all coeval with Habbârid and Sâmid rule in the fourth/tenth century. If a golden age did exist, at least in terms of percentages of traditionists noted in the biographical dictionaries, then it rightly belongs to the third/ninth century (see graph 1). The death-dates of Sindî traditionists reach a peak around 250/864, and thereafter evince a steep decline, accelerating in the course of the fourth/tenth century. If the Habbârids and Sâmids had a positive impression on the study of ḥadîth, then surely one would observe an increase in the number and percentage of Sindî traditionists during the period of their rule. On the contrary, the major decline in the incidence of Sind-related nisbahs occurs precisely during this period.

Basic to the concept of a fourth/tenth century apogee in the study of ḥadîth in Sind is the theory of the development of local schools of tradition at Daybul, Quṣdâr, Manṣûrah, and even Multân.[129] Indeed, the chronological conclusions of Ishaq are based primarily on the assumption that all Daybulîs, Manṣûris,

and Quṣdârîs were actually from Sind and all Sindîs were not, regardless of textual confirmation of a personal connection with the region of Sind.[130] While there is no doubt that local nisbahs for traditionists start appearing regularly in the fourth/tenth century (nine of fifteen traditionists from this period have a local nisbah), seven of the nine are Daybulîs while only two are Manṣûrîs.[131] Thus, while a case can be made for the study of ḥadîth at Daybul (or by Daybulî Muslims), this is not equally true of Manṣûrah, Quṣdâr, or Multân.

Ishaq, for one, has given an overly optimistic account of the study of ḥadîth at the city of Manṣûrah during the fourth/tenth century:

> Here Traditionists engaged themselves in the pursuit of their own Science. Classes in Ḥadîth were held in different mosques of the city. Scholars were found to compile works on Ḥadîth literature.[132]

Such a conclusion is certainly not warranted on the slim evidence of two Manṣûrî traditionists, one of whom was primarily a Dâ'ûdî jurist and the other a Qur'ân reciter.[133] Moreover, the books which Pathan and Ishaq allege were written on ḥadîth by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣâliḥ al-Manṣûrî more likely concerned Dâ'ûdî jurisprudence since the author was an imâm in that legal school.[134] It is also difficult to sustain the argument of an independent regional school of traditions at Quṣdâr on the evidence of a single traditionist, Sîbawayh b. Ismâᶜîl (d. ca. 460/1067).[135] Nor is there support in the biographical data for Sulaymân Nadvî's assertion that during the Arab period there were scores of traditionists in the city of Multân.[136] There is not a single

Multânî among the traditionists; indeed, the nisbah itself is unknown in the Arab period.[137] As a result, it is necessary to conclude that, with the possible exception of Daybul,[138] the numbers involved do not warrant the assumption of distinct regional schools of tradition in the fourth/tenth century.

The attractions of ḥadîth study for Sindî Muslims. There can be no doubt that the study of traditions was the major religious preoccupation of Muslims in Sind and Sindî Muslims in all periods of Arab rule in Sind. Moreover, as previously noted, a significant portion of the Sindî traditionists belonged to the group known as aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth, who were also well-represented in Sind itself. What could have been the attractions of tradition for Sindî Muslims? If one accepts Arthur L. Greil's view that preexisting cognitive styles must be taken into account in understanding the form of religion adopted through conversion,[139] then perhaps one should examine the type of Islam which prevailed in Arab Sind and among Sindî Muslims in the light of the preexisting non-Muslim religions of Sind.

In their unique perception of Islâm, the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth were characterized by their populism, literalism, and textualism. As Marshall G. S. Hodgson has observed regarding the first of these traits:

> In no other movement did the traits of populism appear more strongly developed than in that of the Ḥadîth folk. . . . Anthropomorphism in tales of God, presenting Him in the image of a human being, and the legendry of spectacular deeds which prophets could achieve at God's hands, served to support a sense of personal contact with the divine presence in revelation.[140]

The Buddhists of Sind, it will be recalled, belonged to the Theravâda sect known as the Sammitîya, perhaps the most populist of the Indian Buddhist sects.[141] Unlike the highly intellectualized systems of other Indian schools, the Sammitîya postulated the actual existence of a readily comprehensible puggala ("self") which transmigrated. The striking anti-intellectual populism of this uniquely Sammitîya doctrine has been noted previously.[142]

However, it is in the textualism and literalism of the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth and the Sammitîya that the closest similarities can be observed. It should be borne in mind that the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth were not traditionists in the normal sense of upholding the present and future authority of past beliefs or customs, but in the technical sense of maintaining the superiority in governing Muslim behaviour of ḥadîth reports of the Prophet's words and actions.[143] Perhaps the word textualism better conveys the religious perspective of the group. Since a large number of early Sindî converts to Islam would appear to have come from Sammitîya Theravâda Buddhism, it is tempting to consider Sindî Muslim interest in ḥadîth as related broadly to the earlier Theravâda absorption in vinaya ("discipline").

The Vinaya-Piṭaka ("Book of Discipline") forms a third of the Pali Canon and consists of a code of conduct for living in the Buddhist community which, in many ways, was more important than doctrine to early Theravâda Buddhism.[144] This system of praxis shows certain similarities in form and structure to the Muslim system of praxis evident in the corpus of tradi-

tions. The *Vinaya* consists of reports of the sayings or actions of the Buddha in specific situations, containing both a statement of reception ("so have I heard") and of time and occasion ("at such and such a time and place").[145] While lacking a precise counterpart to the Muslim *isnâd* ("chain of authorities"), the resemblance to *ḥadîth* reports is striking. Both are not so much laws as they are reports of the sayings or actions of a specific historical individual in a specific textual and contextual situation. Thus, the *Vinaya* reports, even though accumulated later (in a process remarkably analogous to that of the *ḥadîth*),[146] were directed back and attributed to an historical person, the Buddha, whose customs and sayings in particular situations had the force of law to the Buddhists. As Sukumar Dutt puts it, "a Vinaya rule . . . almost invariably takes the form of a reported adjudication made by the Buddha as to what is right and what is wrong in a given 'state of facts'."[147] That is, they do not take the form of a general law, but relate back to a specific dictum of the Buddha in a posited contextual situation. Hence, one finds, for example, fourteen discrete pronoucements of the Buddha concerning the wearing of shoes, each occurring in a specific anecdotal context, but no covering shoe-law.[148] Likewise, Muḥammad's dicta and actions on specified occasions are enshrined in traditions--many on relatively minor matters such as dress or cuisine--which assume the force of law from the Prophet's praxis (*sunnah*).[149]

Moreover, the Theravâdins in their arguments against the Mahâyânists (who rationalized the *Vinaya* as internal atti-

tudes)[150] maintained the literal importance of the sayings of the Buddha, all of which were deemed obligatory and sacrosanct.[151] By the same token, the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth argued against their rationalizing opponents by insisting on the explicit words of the text of the traditions and de-emphasizing community tradition and individual reasoning.[152] To the Theravâdins, any doubt must be resolved with reference to the text of the Buddha's dicta ("to be brought down to the Sutta or shown in the Vinaya").[153] The Sammitîya was even more literalist and textualist in this regard than other Theravâda schools. Their main tenet--that a real not allegorical person (puggala) existed--was based on a literal reading of the text of the Buddha's dicta. While other schools argued that the term was simply a concept, the Sammitîya insisted that the Buddha had used the term puggala and hence it must have a real existence.[154] That is, the Buddha's pronouncements could not be explained away, but must be accepted in whole, all of them, even with their attendant difficulties. Similarly, the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth, by referring their textual considerations back to the authority of Muḥammad's pronouncements and behaviour, maintained that the difficult traditions must be accepted "without asking how," and not rationalized or allegorized away.[155]

While these similarities and analogies are suggestive, it is by no means clear that this alone answers the question of why Sindî Muslims were attracted to the position of the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth. By its very nature, this type of argument must remain inconclusive. However, assuming that conversion

took place for the reasons outlined in chapter three (the argument here is not that conversion occurred due to congenial ideological similarities), then it is surely reasonable to expect that the converts would opt for a type of Islam intelligible within their previous religious perspective. And one can definitely observe some of the attractions that an ashâb al-hadîth position would have had for converts from the Sammitîya Theravâda tradition of textual Buddhism.

Mystics and Ascetics

The second largest category of Sindî Muslims during the Arab period were mystics and ascetics. Subsumed in this group are those individuals who were either termed Sûfî, zâhid ("ascetic"), faqîr ("mendicant"), or who were primarily associated with Sûfîs. Thirteen of the Sindî Muslims (18.6 percent of all individuals, 14.3 percent of all professions) fall within this category, including two of the eleven (18.2 percent) who were definitely in Sind (see table 2). They start appearing in the literature for the century after the Arab conquest (six of the thirteen died in the period 150-250/767-864) and then, like the traditionists, gradually decline in incidence during the fourth/tenth century and disappear in the last half of the fifth/eleventh century (see table 3). Of particular prominence among this group is the large representation of individuals bearing a Daybulî nisbah (seven of the thirteen).[156] Since Daybul had a large Mahešvara temple and was a centre of Pâšupata Šaivism, perhaps these Daybulî mystics might have served as a conduit

of Pâśupata concepts into Ṣûfism, a point which will be discussed later in this section.

Unfortunately, there is little additional biographical information on the particular beliefs or actions of these Sindî mystics and ascetics. One can observe, however, an inclination towards asceticism (many are termed zâhid) with perhaps an added component of a belief in supernatural powers. For example, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zâhid al-Daybulî was renowned for his saintly miracles (karâmât);[157] Aḥmad b. al-Sindî Abû Bakr al-Ḥaddâd was considered one of the forty abdâl ("substitutes") whose prayers are answered (mujâb al-da^cwah);[158] and the traditionist Aḥmad b. ^cAbd Allâh al-Daybulî toward the end of his life became a Ṣûfî recluse (min al-zuhhâd al-fuqarâ' al-^cubbâd) in Nîshâpûr where he became particularly well-known for his ascetic practices.[159] Moreover, most of the Sindî mystics and ascetics were also traditionists, and hence there would appear to be a close connection between the two religious perspectives.[160]

The evidence for Islamic mysticism and asceticism in Arab Sind is slim indeed, most of the data referring to a much later period.[161] However, two inscriptions (accompanied by later legends) have survived from this period as well as references to three Ṣûfîs who travelled through the region. The inscriptions, dated 171/787 and 341/952 and attached to the shrines of Abû Turâb and Khiḍr, are of particular interest and confirm some of the evidence of the biographical data.

In the first case, Shaykh Abû Turâb is considered to be one of the tâbi^cû al-tâbi^cîn ("Associates of the Associates,"

i.e., those who knew those who knew a Companion of the Prophet); an ascetic, and a military commander of some prowess who transmuted a hostile Hindu army into a hill through his miraculous powers.[162] In local parlance, he is termed Ḥâjjî Turâbî, and his tomb (mazâr) still exists in the Indus Delta, bearing an indistinct inscription dated 171/787.[163] Modern scholars have generally accepted the historicity of this individual, some considering him the first Ṣûfî shaykh in Sind,[164] while others reduce his function to an ᶜAbbâsid governorship over Sind.[165] The latter solution is unlikely since the names and dates of the governors of Sind during this period are known and Abû Turâb (or any variation) is not one of them (see appendix B). It is possible that the tomb is that of Turâb al-Ḥanẓalî, an ordinary soldier in the Thaqafite army who, according to the Chachnâmah, drowned around the year 93/711 while fording the Indus River somewhere in the Delta.[166] If the identification is accepted (and the name and locality support it), then the date of the inscription would refer to the erection of the tomb, not the death of Turâb. In the course of time, a popular legend regarding the inhabitant of this early Arab tomb would have evolved among the Muslims of Sind.

While it is highly unlikely that Abû Turâb was a Ṣûfî shaykh of the Arab period, as later hagiographies maintain, the presence of the tomb and its legend is of some interest. First, the construction of a tomb (by 171/787, the date of the inscription) for a relatively unknown Arab soldier suggests an early attempt to mystify the conquest and the Arab conquerors,

at least in the Indus Delta. Second, the legend associates Abû Turâb with both traditions (as one of the tâbi^c^û al-tâbi^c^în) and supernatural powers, a combination of particular fecundity in Sind also observed in the biographical data. Third, the tomb is located in the midst of Buddhist ruins, where over a hundred votive stûpas (inscribed with the Buddhist creed ya dharma) have been uncovered.[167] Perhaps the tomb acquired especial sanctity in the eyes of the residents of the Indus Delta through its association with a preexisting Buddhist religious site. It is even possible that the tomb was built where it was in order to transform the perceived efficacy of the non-Muslim site, via a posited Muslim soldier-saint, to aid the nascent Islamic community of Sind. That is, it is not the sanctity of the site which is disputed, but who will be the beneficiaries of its powers.

The second Arab period inscription is found in the shrine (dargâh) of the legendary Khwâjah Khiḍr (Persian Khiẓr), located on an island in the middle of the Indus just off Bhakkar.[168] A verse inscribed on a slab set into the wall of the shrine reads:

> When this sublime shrine was raised,
> Which contains the fountain of Khiḍr,
> [. . . ?] wrote the pleasing line,
> Its date is dargâh ^c^âlî.[169]

The date is given numerically and reads indistinctly as either 341 or 321, but the reading of the ta'rîkh ("chronogram") as dargâh ^c^âlî supports the former date. The name of the alleged author of the verse is unclear, although it may well have been attributed to Khiḍr (a râ' is discernible).[170] The inscription

itself is written in Persian, in a nasta^c^lîq script which would not have been current in the fourth/tenth century.[170] Perhaps it is a Persian translation of a previous Arabic inscription. The chronogram would appear to refer to the date of the erection of the shrine and not, as suggested by Yazdani, to the death of Khwâjah Khiḍr, a legendary figure who achieved immortality after drinking from the fountain of life (âb-i Khiḍr in the above inscription).[171]

Khiḍr or al-Khaḍir ("the green man"), an enigmatic Qur'ânic figure, occurs in the Islamic tradition as an immortal servant of God, patron saint of sailors and travellers, and the guardian of the spring of life.[172] He plays a prominent role in Ṣûfism, serving as an inspiration to mystics in visions and dreams.[173] In Sind itself, he is venerated by both Muslims (as Khwâjah Khiḍr) and Hindus (as Zindah Pîr) who associate him with the living god of the Indus River.[174] His shrine is located, for both religions, on a small island off Bhakkar. According to Muslim accounts, Khiḍr became associated with the island when he miraculously diverted the Indus from Arôr to its present location at Bhakkar in order to save a Muslim woman (en route to Mecca) from the unwanted attentions of a Hindu king.[175] If the date of 341/952 is correct, then the veneration of Khiḍr relative to the Indus River must be dated back to the late Habbârid period and would perhaps represent an early example of religious interpenetrations if not syncretism.[176]

Both of these examples reveal certain salient features of early Islam in Sind. They both occur in a context of a pre-

Muslim site or power: Abû Turâb's tomb being built on a Buddhist site and Khiḍr being perceived as the living saint of the Indus River. Moreover, both are associated with miraculous powers which are employed for the benefit of the Muslim community against the non-Muslims of Sind: Abû Turâb is said to have changed a Hindu army into a hill, and Khiḍr to have saved a Muslim woman performing the pilgrimage (notably one of the five "pillars" of Islam). Incidentally, he did this by diverting the entire Indus River away from the capital of the Hindu king, thus bringing both the king and his non-Muslim community to ruin. While part of the perceived efficacy of their supernatural powers may be derived from association with non-Muslim sites or powers, it is notable that the legends have these miraculous capabilities being used in the defense of the Muslim vis-à-vis the non-Muslim community.

Passing from the legendary, three mystics are known to have travelled through Sind during the Arab period. While travelling in Shîrâz and Ahwâz, the geographer Maqdisî met a man who had lived for some time in Sind and was "renowned for his asceticism (zuhd)."[177] He gave a particularly vivid description of Sind which Maqdisî subsequently used in his account of the region. Unfortunately, Maqdisî neither gives the name of this ascetic nor outlines his activities during his long stay in Arab Sind.

The most notable mystic to visit Arab Sind, however, was al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣûr al-Ḥallâj (244-309/858-921) who is said to have travelled to Gujarat and hence, by way of Daybul, through

Sind and Multân to Kashmir, probably around 283-84/896-97.[178] Although he is an important figure for Ṣûfism in later Sind,[179] there is no evidence of a direct, personal influence on mystical thought in Sind by Ḥallâj during his sojourn in the region. Conversely, while much has been written on the possible Indian influences on Ḥallâj,[180] these could have come from Gujarat or Kashmir rather than Sind, and hence need not concern us here.

According to the Akhbâr al-akhyâr, Sayyid Ṣafî al-Dîn Kâzarûnî, a nephew and khalîfah ("deputy") of Abû Isḥâq Ibrâhîm b. Shahriyâr Kâzarûnî (352-426/963-1034), was dispatched by his uncle to Upper Sind where he is alleged to have founded the city of Ûchh, later to become famous as a centre of the Suhrawardî and Qâdirî Ṣûfîs.[181] The only evidence of Ṣafî al-Dîn's actions while in Sind comes from an anecdote given by the Chishtî saint Niẓâm al-Dîn Awliyâ' (d. 725/1324).[182] While residing at Ûchh, Ṣafî al-Dîn is said to have encountered a yogi who challenged him to a clarifying duel of supernatural powers. While the yogi was only able to levitate to the ceiling, Ṣafî al-Dîn, after praying for the gift of miracles, emerged the clear winner by actually flying out of the room.

This legendary Hindu-Muslim encounter should be read in the light of the other material on Sind which suggests an interest by Sindî mystics and ascetics in supernatural powers to be used against non-Muslims, perhaps as proof of the superior religious potency of Islam. These posited miraculous abilities of Muslim saints are frontier powers par excellence: they are not mentioned as coming to the aid of Muslims in their internal

relations or development, but only against non-Muslims. The spirit of the frontier, not of syncretism, is evident here.

Sindî influences on Ṣûfism. Before concluding this section, it is necessary to discuss briefly the controversial question of Sindî influences on Ṣûfism. I will not be concerned here with the more general topic of Indian influences, but only with the Sindî connection. A number of scholars have suggested that since Sind, an integral part of India, had been conquered by the Arabs by 96/714 and thereafter integrated into the cultural and political Arab Muslim empire, a channel for the communication of Indian thought into Ṣûfism existed, and hence a historical connection can be made.[183] There is much to commend this theory. Sind definitely formed an integral part of the Islamic empire during the Umayyad and ᶜAbbâsid periods. Sindî Muslims, including mystics and ascetics, were abroad during this period, suggesting the possibility of cultural contacts. Moreover, it is reasonable to conclude that those Arabs who settled in or visited Sind as well as Sindî converts from Hinduism and Buddhism would be acquainted to some degree with the religious beliefs and practices of their non-Muslim compatriots. That is, Sindî Muslims, both Arabs and converts, would have had access to the non-Muslim concepts current in Arab Sind.

Having said this, it is necessary to add that those scholars who have posited a Sindî connection have not done so relative to the non-Muslim religions known to have been extant in Sind during the Arab period. That is, the historical con-

nection has not been exploited. It is generally and incorrectly assumed that Hindu or Buddhist thought in Sind must have been the same as that of a general reified Hinduism or Buddhism, examples of which are taken indiscriminately from all parts and times of India. Thus, Zaehner argues a Sindî connection to Abû Yazîd al-Bisṭâmî (d. 261/874 or 264/877) via Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî, which is possible, but then assumes that the latter communicated the Vedânta monist theories of Śaṅkara, which is unlikely.[184] There is no cogent reason to assume that the Advaita Vedânta views of the South Indian Śaṅkara (d. ca. A.D. 820) were current in third/ninth century Sind. Indeed, Hindu Sind was primarily Pâśupata and Śaṅkara, according to Ânandagiri, was antagonistic towards this sect, considering their views anti-Hindu, and even suggesting that they be "chastised and whipped."[185] Sindî Pâśupatas, even if aware of Śaṅkara's theories (and there is no direct evidence that they were), would hardly be likely to communicate his perceptions at the expense of their own.

This will clearly not do. Surely any argument of Indian influence via Sind must initially be based on the beliefs of those Hindu and Buddhist sects known to have been predominant in Sind during the Arab period: Sammitîya Buddhism and Pâśupata Śaivism. I have previously shown similarities between the literal textualism of the Sammitîya and the traditionists. In the remainder of this section, I will examine a single line of analysis from the Sindî Pâśupata into Ṣûfism.

By a considerable margin, the major Hindu sect in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest was the Pâśupata, a theist

system with rituals and philosophy substantially different from other Hindu systems.[186] Moreover, over half of the Arab period mystics and ascetics carried a nisbah related to Daybul, a city with a large Maheśvara temple inhabited by Pâśupatas.[187] If one postulates a Pâśupata rather than Vedânta influence on Ṣûfism, then some of the difficulties in establishing valid comparisons are diminished.

The Pâśupata had a highly unusual ritual whereby the aspirant courted public dishonour (adharma) through the performance of disreputable and outrageous actions. Among the six established ways to elicit such opprobrium are the performance of improper or nonsensical actions (avitatkaraṇa) and the utterance of contradictory or nonsensical speech (avitadbhâṣaṇa).[188] Dishonour was actively pursued in order to transfer merit and achieve ascetic isolation and detachment from the world. Similarities can readily be seen in the malâmah ("blame" or "censure") of the Ṣûfîs, especially those termed malâmatîyah ("blameworthy ones") who performed outrageous and seemingly illicit acts to elicit blame and rejection, usually for the ascetic motive of self-mortification and isolation.[189] As Goldziher observes of the malâmatîyah:

> They attach value to arousing wrath by their conduct and to drawing on themselves the disapproval of other people. . . . They wish to be regarded as transgressors of the law even when in fact they are not. They are intent on arousing the contempt of mankind so they may prove their indifference to its judgement.[190]

The parallels are very close. Both groups deliberately provoked contempt (which is different from passive acceptance); both did so through outwardly scandalous or illicit actions;

and both did so primarily for ascetic motives. For example, Bistâmî, the reputed formulator of the malâmatîyah system, frequently elicited blame by doing or saying outrageous or unlawful things so that people might leave him alone with his devotions.[191] If there is any Indian influence here (perhaps via Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî), it would have to come from the Pâśupata, the only Hindu sect to have practiced such a deliberate elicitation of blame and dishonour.

There also appears to be a resemblance, at least on the surface, between the Pâśupata practice of avitadbhâṣaṇa ("nonsensical speech") and the shaṭaḥât ("ecstatic speech") of Bisṭâmî, Ḥallâj, and other Ṣûfîs.[192] The ecstatic utterances of Bisṭâmî, for example, certainly contained an element of paradox and provoked blame and condemnation, while those of Ḥallâj indirectly led to his death.[193] The resemblances here, however, are more superficial than real. For the Pâśupata, the nonsensical or paradoxical speech was pronounced in order to provoke opprobrium, while among the Ṣûfîs it would appear to have been the result of (not a means to) a mystical experience which could only be expressed in paradox.[194] Of course the two are analogous where the shaṭḥ was used by the Ṣûfî to elicit malâmah.

Perhaps the most widely discussed similarity is that between the Ṣûfî term fanâ' ("annihilation") and the Buddhist and Hindu term nirvâṇa ("extinction"). That the source of Bisṭâmî's fanâ' lies in the Buddhist nirvâṇa (and was communicated to him by Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî) has been suggested by Max Horten, Louis Massignon, R. A. Nicholson, and R. C. Zaehner,[195]

and energetically repudiated by B. Carra de Vaux, A. J. Arberry, Qassim al-Samarrai, and Muhammad Abdur Rabb.[196] After much debate, the tendency among Islamicists is to deny the connection on the following grounds: fanâ' is theist while nirvâṇa is atheist; fanâ' is positive while nirvâṇa is negative; fanâ' contains within it the element of remaining in God (baqâ') which is not evident in nirvâṇa; unlike fanâ', nirvâṇa is the culmination of the transmigration of souls.[197] While this is partially although not entirely true of Theravâda Buddhist nirvâṇa,[198] it is definitely not true of the Pâśupata who conceived of nirvâṇa in a manner at considerable odds with other Hindu systems.

The Pâśupata concept of nirvâṇa (also termed duḥkhânta, "the extinction of sorrows") is totally dependent on a God who is conceived as the independent cause of the universe.[199] The Pâśupata system was so thoroughly theist, perhaps even monotheist, that its scripture could assert that "God acts according to his will, independent of human deeds (karma),"[200] thereby rejecting the primary Hindu theory of karma. In keeping with this radical view, the Pâśupata could attain nirvâṇa only by the grace of God. Not only is the concept theist, but it also contains within it the positive component of remaining with God. In sharp contrast to Vedânta monism, the Pâśupata nirvâṇa did not lead to the union of the individual soul (âtman) with the whole (brahman), but to the presence of the Lord (Îśvara) to whom the soul was forever linked not to be subject to rebirth.[201] In the Pâśupata concept, it is not the individual but the will

of the individual which is annihilated in God's will. It is in this state that one perceives "the essence (of things) just as they are,"[202] and even partakes of many of the Lord's attributes, e.g., the supermundane power of perception and knowledge.[203]

As can readily be seen, some of the inadequacies of comparing fanâ' with nirvâṇa are eliminated if one accepts the possibility of a Pâŝupata connection. Both concepts are dependent on a theist perception of God; both contain positive elements; both accomodate wihtin them the element of remaining or subsiding with God; both recognize the annihilation of man's will in the will of God; in neither case is the individual annihilated; and both states are achieved through the grace of God. These similarities alone do not prove a genetic relationship between the Pâŝupata nirvâṇa and the Ṣûfî fanâ'. Still, there is a strongly supportive historical connection in the case of Bisṭâmî. It should be borne in mind that Bisṭâmî was not simply indebted to Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî in a general sense, but learned from him the specific technique of "annihilation in Divine Unity" (Bâyazîd guyad keh man az Bû ᶜAlî ᶜilm-i fanâ' dar tawḥîd mî-âmôkhtam).[204] Since the Pâŝupata was the predominant Hindu sect in Sind, it is possible that Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî was aware (directly if he actually came from Sind, indirectly if his family came from Sind) of their concept of nirvâṇa and included certain elements while instructing Bisṭâmî in fanâ'.[205] In addition, Bisṭâmî had possible access to Pâŝupata concepts through his brother-in-law who bore a nisbah related to the city of Daybul, a centre of the Sindî Pâŝupatas.[206]

While the above evidence is not conclusive, if a conduit into Ṣûfism through Arab Sind is posited, then the obvious place to look for an influence is within the Sindî Pâśupata system and not Vedânta monism. And, in sharp contrast to other Indian systems, the Pâśupata concept of *nirvâṇa* has much in common with the Ṣûfî *fanâ'*.

Shî^{c}ites and Khârijites[207]

Ten of the seventy Sindî Muslims (14.3 percent of all individuals, 11.0 percent of all religious professions) fall within the category of Shî^{c}ites (see table 2). They occur only in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, with half of them dying in the 150-200/767-815 period (see table 3). The Shî^{c}ite biographical sources unfortunately are not forthcoming about these Sindîs, rarely expanding beyond their names and a terse note concerning their role in the transmission of Shî^{c}ite traditions. Even their dates can be constructed only indirectly with reference to their more renowned teachers and students. Hence, it is not surprising that none of the ten Sindî Shî^{c}ites can be placed definitely in Sind (or elsewhere for that matter) through supplementary textual evidence. There is, however, cogent evidence of the presence of ^{c}Alids and Shî^{c}ites actually in Sind during the Arab period. This evidence will be discussed in full in the chapter on Ismâ^{c}îlism which follows.

As far as the Khârijites are concerned, I have been unable to locate a single individual bearing a Sindî *nisbah*. Perhaps this is due to the unavailability of specific Khârijite

biographical dictionaries for the period. Nonetheless, members of this sect were definitely within the jurisdiction of Sind, especially in Mukrân and Ṭûrân. Arab geographers and travellers have referred to the arid, sparsely populated region of Mukrân as the domain of the shurât, a term generally employed for the Khârijites.[208] They would appear to have had a particularly close relationship with the Ibâḍîyah Khârijites of nearby ᶜUmân. On the failure of his revolt in Mawṣil in 148/765, Ḥassân b. Mujâlid b. Yaḥyâ al-Hamadânî, a relative of the Khârijite theologian Ḥafṣ b. Ashaym, fled to Sind (sic, but Mukrân is probably meant) where he unsuccessfully attempted to enlist the assistance of the Ibâḍîyah Khârijites from ᶜUmân who were residing in the region.[209]

Another source of Khârijite agitation in Sind came from the adjacent region of Sîstân. Ḥamzah b. Âdharak (or ᶜAbd Allâh), a Sîstânî leader of a sub-sect of the ᶜAjâridah Khârijites known as Ḥamzîyah, summoned his followers in 193/808 to "go forth and wage war against the idolators [but-parastân] in the Indus Valley."[210] Ḥamzah is said to have personally raided Sind and Hind, returning to Sîstân by way of Mukrân in 200/815.[211] There is no evidence that either he or his followers made any long-range military or religious impact on Sind or Mukrân.[212] Shahrastânî, however, does note that a sub-sect of the ᶜAjâridah, called Khalafîyah after Ḥamzah's Sîstânî contemporary Khalaf al-Khârijî, had adherents among the Khârijites of Kirmân and Mukrân.[213]

The Sîstânî Khârijites also appeared in the region of

Sind called Ṭûrân, between the Indus Valley and Mukrân. After Ya^cqûb b. Layth al-Ṣaffâr defeated and killed ^cAmmâr b. Yâsir al-Khârijî at Nishak in 251/865, "the Kharijites were consequently all demoralized and took refuge in the mountains of Asfozâr or in the Hendqânân valley."[214] Hindqânân is undoubtedly the town known by the Arab geographers as Kîzkânân or Qîqân, the residence of the ruler of Ṭûrân in the fourth/tenth century.[215]

The presence of Khârijites at Quzdâr (a variation of Quṣdâr), also in Ṭûrân, is evidenced by a long anecdote given on the authority of Abû al-Ḥasan ^cAlî b. Laṭîf in the Nishwâr al-muḥâḍarah of ^cAlî b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanûkhî (d. 384/994).[216] ^cAlî b. Laṭîf, a Mu^ctazilite theologian, travelled to Qusdâr where he found a large number of Khârijites residing. During the course of his stay, the Mu^ctazilite, after expressing alarm at the possible theft of his clothes which a Khârijite tailor had carelessly left outside, was sternly lectured:

> You people have become accustomed to base morality (akhlâq al-ardhâl) because you were brought up in the land of infidelity (bilâd al-kufr) in which there exists theft and deception. We know nothing of that here. Your clothes would remain where they were put until they wore out, and still no one would take them but you. Even if you were to travel to the Far East or the Far West, on returning you would find them still in their place. Indeed, we have neither brigands nor immorality among us, nor anything like you people have.[217]

There are several points of interest in this contemporary account of Quzdâr. It is apparent that there was a relatively substantial community of Khârijites in Ṭûrân around the middle of the fourth/tenth century ("it is their region and

centre") who were organized under a caliph residing at Quzdâr.[218] The anecdote also reveals the strong self-perception of the Quzdârî Khârijites as a unique and righteous community. The corollary is that non-Khârijite Muslims were perceived as infidels (kuffâr). Indeed, the perceived paradox of the anecdote lies in ᶜAlî b. Laṭîf, a prominent Muslim probably from Baṣrah, being told that he comes from the corrupt bilâd al-kufr by an inhabitant of isolated Ṭûrân, probably not completely Islamized at the time. The Khârijite view of Quzdâr as a kind of utopia surrounded by infidels is definitely in keeping with the communalistic views of the Khârijites elsewhere that they were the true believers (mu'minûn) while other Muslims were infidels (kuffâr).[219]

Nothing else is known of the Khârijites in Arab Sind. In general, the influence of this sect would appear to have been limited to the isolated regions of Mukrân and Ṭûrân with their nomadic way of life. It is doubtful whether the Khârijites were at any time influential among the Muslims of the more populous regions of the Indus Valley.

Jurists

One of the more interesting results of the collated biographical data is the low representation of jurists (fuqahâ') among those bearing nisbahs relating to Sind. There are only seven Sindî Muslims (10.0 percent of all individuals, 7.7 percent of all religious occupations) who followed this profession during the Arab period (see table 2), one of whom was Ibrâhîm b.

al-Sindî b. Shâhik who is given over a dozen occupations by his friend Jâḥiẓ.[220] Of the remaining jurists, the legal school (madhhab, pl. madhâhib) is directly specified for only three: two, father and son, were Ẓâhirite and one was Shâfiᶜite.[221] Two other jurists were possibly Shâfiᶜite on the evidence of their teachers.[222] Five of the seven died in the fourth/tenth century (see table 3), and four carried local nisbahs (two Manṣûrîs, one Daybulî, and one Quṣdârî). It is difficult to engender chronological or geographic conclusions, however, on the basis of only seven jurists.

The only direct evidence for the study of jurisprudence within Arab Sind is given by Maqdisî who visited the region before 375/985 and noted that while the majority of Muslims were aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth, "the capital cities (qaṣabât) are not lacking jurists of the legal school of Abû Ḥanîfah, although they have no Mâlikîyah nor Muᶜtazilah, nor any work of the Ḥanâbilah."[223] Apart from the "partisans of tradition," the major madhhab in Sind, at least in the capital cities (qaṣabât),[224] would appear to have been the Ḥanafites, which is confirmed for a later period by Yâqût (d. 627/1229).[225] Before travelling to Sind, Maqdisî himself talked to a faqîh who was one of the companions of the Ḥanafite qâḍî Abû al-Haytham al-Nîsâbûrî and had "travelled these regions [of Sind] and knew their conditions."[226] Unfortunately, Maqdisî has not preserved the name of this jurist or given an account of his actions while in Sind.

Not surprisingly, given the popularity of an aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth perspective in Sind and among Sindî Muslims, two of the

Sindî jurists, father and son, belonged to the Dâ'ûdî Ẓâhirite legal school, and both of them actually resided in Manṣûrah for a period of time.[227] Indeed, Maqdisî met the Ẓâhirite imâm Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣûrî in Manṣûrah where "he was a teacher and author who had already written many excellent books."[228] While Ishaq maintains, on the basis of this passage, that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was lecturing on ḥadîth in Manṣûrah, it is more likely that he was teaching the tenets of the Ẓâhirite madhhab to which he belonged.[229] It is difficult to assess the influence in Sind of this well-known jurist.[230] The biographical literature does not record the names of any of his Sindî students or, indeed, any subsequent Ẓâhirite jurists in Sind. If he did have any impact on religious or legal developments in Sind, it would have been primarily in the Habbârid capital of Manṣûrah where he lived and worked.

Qur'ânic Scholars

A few Sindî Muslims were concerned with the Qur'ânic sciences, primarily recitation (four muqrîs, one mujawwid), although one individual, Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm al-Daybulî, transmitted the Qur'ânic commentary (Kitâb al-tafsîr) of Sufyân b. ᶜUyaynah.[231] Unfortunately, there is little information about the Qur'ânic activities of these individuals. Khalaf b. Sâlim al-Sindî (d. 231/845), a mujawwid (one who practices tajwîd, Qur'ân recital) actually from Sind, studied with Abû Bakr b. ᶜAyyâsh who followed the Qur'ân reading of ᶜÂṣim b. Bahdalah (d. 128/745).[232] Three of the six bore Daybulî nisbahs, which

might indicate an especial concern with the Qur'ânic sciences on the part of Daybulî Muslims (although the numbers are not large).[233] Three of the six also died in the last half of the fourth/tenth century, a period of rapid decline in the numbers of traditionists (see table 3).[234] But here again, the numbers involved are not substantial. It would probably be inaccurate to see the late fourth/tenth century as a period of efflorescence in the Qur'ânic sciences solely on the basis of the names of three Sindî Muslims.

As for Sind itself, the Qur'ân occupies an important position in the accounts of the initial conquest of the area. Ḥajjâj commanded Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim to instruct his troops that "whoever can read the Qur'ân, let him be continually occupied in its recital (tilâwat-i Qur'ân), and the rest in prayer."[235] Hence, there were probably muqrîs in the initial Thaqafite army of conquest. The letters and speeches of Ḥajjâj and Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim contain copious quotes from the Qur'ân.[236] Indeed, in a single letter addressed to Dâhir, the king of Sind, Muḥammad quotes no fewer than seven passages of the Qur'ân.[237] Moreover, ᶜAṭîyah b. Saᶜd al-ᶜAwfî, a traditionist who also wrote a tafsîr, participated in the Thaqafite conquest of Sind.[238] It is, however, highly unlikely that during his brief sojourn in Sind, he would have been able to stimulate any interest in tafsîr.

Ibn Ḥawqal gives evidence for a later period of a "great interest in the Qur'ân and its science" among the inhabitants of Multân, adding that they follow the seven canonical systems

of recitation.[239] He further refers to Abû al-Qâsim al-Başrî, the ruler of Ţûrân, as one of the ahl al-Qur'ân ("people of the Qur'ân").[240]

Recent scholars concerned with the history of Arab Sind have focussed particular attention on what is alleged to be "the first translation of holy Qurân into the Sindhi language."[241] The source for this incident is found in the Kitâb ᶜajâ'ib al-Hind (written ca. 339/950) where it is given on the authority of Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAmr al-Najîramî who, in turn, heard of it during a visit to Manṣûrah in 288/900.[242] According to this account, Mahrûk b. Râyaq, the ruler of the region between Upper and Lower Kashmir,[243] wrote in 270/883 to ᶜAbd Allâh b. ᶜUmar, the Habbârid ruler of Manṣûrah, asking him for a tafsîr of the laws of Islam (sharîᶜat al-Islâm) to be rendered into what is called hindîyah. The Habbârid delegated the task to an ᶜIrâqî who resided in Manṣûrah but had been brought up in India and hence knew its languages. The ᶜIrâqî penned an "ode" (qaṣîdah) summarizing the Islamic laws which so delighted the king that he invited the writer to his court in Kashmir. While there, the ᶜIrâqî poet, on the king's request, wrote a tafsîr of the Qur'ân, also in hindîyah. When he reached Sûrah 36.78-79, the king is said to have secretly converted to Islam.

While this incident is of interest (even if the account of the conversion of the king of Kashmir is surely legendary), it cannot rightfully be taken as evidence for the first translation of the Qur'ân into Sindî, as is commonly thought. For

one thing, the rendition was in what is termed *hindîyah*, the language of the ruler of Kashmir. It may have been into Kashmiri or some other Indian language (perhaps Sanskrit), but it was certainly not Sindî. The task was delegated not to a Sindî but to an individual who had been raised in Hind and had a degree of facility with Indian languages. Second, the source specifies that what was rendered into *hindîyah* was a *tafsîr*, which is not strictly speaking a translation.[244] The individual performing this duty was a poet (*shâ^c^ir*) and perhaps his *tafsîr* of the Qur'ân was in the form of an ode like his earlier *tafsîr* of the Islamic laws. To be sure, this does not detract from his achievement: it is still the first *tafsîr* into an Indian language of both the laws of Islam and the Qur'ân. Moreover, it also indicates an aggressive interest in the propagation of the Qur'ân and Islam during the early Habbârid period and a belief in Manṣûrah (where the anecdote was current in 288/900) in the power of the Qur'ân to effect conversion.

Qâḍîs and Khaṭîbs

Only two of the seventy Sindî Muslims (2.9 percent of all individuals) followed the profession of judge (*qâḍî*): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣâliḥ al-Manṣûrî, the Ẓâhirite jurist, was the *qâḍî* of both Manṣûrah in Sind and Arrajân in Western Fârs, while the traditionist Sindî b. ^c^Abduwayh al-Râzî was the *qâḍî* of Hamadhân and Qazwîn.[245] Perhaps the paucity of references to *qâḍîs* bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* can be attrib-

uted, in part, to the fact that the biographical literature is primarily concerned with those qâḍîs who served in the regions of the central heartlands. And, since the office of qâḍî was often the focal point of regional factional disputes,[246] it may have been difficult for an individual from outside the region to serve in that capacity.

Nevertheless, there were, as one would expect, qâḍîs and khaṭîbs ("preachers") in Arab Sind. At the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest, Mûsâ b. Ya^cqûb al-Thaqafî was appointed qâḍî and khaṭîb of the region of Arôr and given a written title of office with the instruction, "treat the subjects with proper concern, according to the [Qur'ânic] order, 'command the right and forbid the wrong.'"[247] Mûsâ founded a long line of hereditary qâḍîs and khaṭîbs of Arôr and Bhakkar whose office was accepted by the Ghaznavids and lasted until at least the seventh/thirteenth century.[248]

When Ibn Baṭṭûṭah visited Sind in the year 734/1333, he met an Arab named Shaybânî who had in his possession a diploma of appointment to the office of khaṭîb of Sîwistân given to an ancestor in 99/717 by the caliph ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzîz. The office of preacher of the town was then "inherited generation after generation from that time to the present day."[249] The author of the original letter of appointment, if it is historical, was probably the Habbârid ruler ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzîz (ca. 240-60/854-73) and not the caliph of the same name.[250] In any case, the evidence of the Thaqafites of Arôr and the Shaybânites of Sîwistân suggests that the office of qâḍî and

khaṭîb may have followed hereditary lines in Arab Sind.

The Arab geographer and historian Mas^c^ûdî travelled to Sind in the year 303/915 and noted a particularly close relationship between the Habbârid rulers of Manṣûrah and the family of the well-known qâḍî Abû al-Shawârib.[251] It is sometimes supposed, based on a statement by Ibn al-Athîr, that the qâḍî Muḥammad b. Abî al-Shawârib himself came to the Habbârid capital of Manṣûrah in 283/896 and died shortly thereafter.[252] Yohanan Friedmann, however, has argued that this conclusion is based on a misreading of Ibn al-Athîr who merely states that at the time of his death Muḥammad b. Abî al-Shawârib had been qâḍî for six months of the city of al-Manṣûr (madînat al-Manṣûr), by which is meant Baghdâd and not Manṣûrah in Sind.[253] The argument is part of Friedmann's attempt to prove that Sind was not congenial to the development of Islamic culture. It should be pointed out, however, that there is an early tradition that Manṣûrah in Sind was built in the caliphate of al-Manṣûr after whom it was named.[254] Hence it is entirely possible that madînat al-Manṣûr could refer to the city of Manṣûrah in Sind and not to Baghdâd. Moreover, as previously stated, only twenty years after the qâḍî Muḥammad b. Abî al-Shawârib is said to have died in "the city of al-Manṣûr," Mas^c^ûdî visited the city of Manṣûrah in Sind and found the family of the qâḍî Abû al-Shawârib in positions of authority. As a result, one must conclude that even if Muḥammad b. Abî al-Shawârib himself did not immigrate to Sind, one of his relatives did around the same time. Whatever the case, the sources give no indication of the actions of this family of qâḍîs in

Mansûrah, although they presumably had considerable influence at the Habbârid court.

Theologians and Philosophers

The biographical data reveal only two Sindî Muslims (2.9 percent of all individuals) who were concerned with scholastic theology (kalâm) or philosophy (falsafah): al-Fath b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Sindî was a traditionist and jurist who studied kalâm with Abû ᶜAlî al-Thaqafî, while Ibrâhîm b. al-Sindî b. Shâhak was a polymath with over a dozen occupations attributed to him.[255] Nothing is known of the precise nature of the theological or philosophical speculations of either of the men.

Unfortunately, very little is known of the pursuit of theology or philosophy in Arab Sind.[256] The Muᶜtazilite theologian ᶜAlî b. Latîf (of the school of the shaykh al-muᶜtazilah Abû Hâshim ᶜAbd al-Salâm al-Jubbâ'î, d. 321/933), it is true, travelled to Quzdâr in Sind, but his ideas were not well-received (he was called a kâfir).[257] Indeed, the Muslims of Arab Sind, in keeping with the predominant ashâb al-hadîth perspective, would appear to have taken an active stand against the speculative dogmatics of the Muᶜtazilites.[258] The apparent prejudice against theology and philosophy in Arab Sind and among Sindî Muslims may well reflect pre-Muslim sentiments, especially Buddhist, in the region. Not long before the Arab conquest, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang remarked ruefully that while the Buddhists of Sind had faith in the Buddha, they had little inclination for theological speculations.[259]

NOTES

[1]ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy b. Sayyid Fakhr al-Dîn al-Bârîlî, Nuzhat al-khawâṭir wa-bahjat al-masâmiᶜ wa-al-nawâẓir, 8 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Maᶜârif al-ᶜUthmânîyah, 1366-90/1947-70).

[2]For example, he lists (ibid., 1:47) Wadâᶜ b. Ḥamîd al-Azdî, a minor deputy over Qandâbîl for the rebellious Muhallabites in 102/720, but neglects the more renowned Muhallabite governor of Sind Rawḥ b. Ḥâtim. He includes Dâ'ûd b. Nasr al-ᶜUmânî (1:8), a minor soldier in the Thaqafite army (mentioned only once in the Chachnâmah, p. 241), but not more important Thaqafite commanders such as Dhakwân b. ᶜUlwân al-Bakrî (Chachnâmah, pp. 107, 155, 171-72, 187, 192).

[3]Isrâ'îl b. Mûsâ Nazîl al-Sind (ibid., 1:23-24), Najîḥ al-Sindî (1:45-46), Abû ᶜAlî al-Sindî (1:50), Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad al-Daybulî (1:64), Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Daybulî (1:64-65), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣûrî (1:65, 100), Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Daybulî (1:65-66), Shuᶜayb b. Muḥammad al-Daybulî (1:67), ᶜAbd Allâh b. Jaᶜfar al-Manṣûrî (1:67), ᶜAlî b. Mûsâ al-Daybulî (1:67), Fatḥ b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Sindî (1:69-70), Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm al-Daybulî (1:67), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad [i.e., Aḥmad] al-Daybulî (1:70-71). See individual biographies in appendix C for details.

[4]All of the Sindî biographies are taken from the Kitâb al-Ansâb of Samᶜânî. Hence, he accepts the nisbah of Shuᶜayb b. Muḥammad as al-Daybulî following the evidence of Samᶜânî (facsimile reproduction by D. S. Margoliouth [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1912], fol. 236b) rather than the more correct form al-Dabîlî. See Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad al-Dhahabî, al-Mushtabah fî-al-rijâl, ed. ᶜAlî Muḥammad al-Bajâwî (Cairo: ᶜÎsâ al-Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1962), p. 293, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalânî, Tabṣîr al-muntabih bi-taḥrîr al-mushtabah, ed. ᶜAlî Muḥammad al-Bajâwî, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dâr al-Miṣrîyah, 1964-65), 2:575.

[5]For example, ᶜAbd al-Hayy divides Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣûrî into two different individuals, one of whom he places in the fourth century A.H. (1:65) and the other in the sixth century A.D. (1:100) following Samᶜânî, fol. 543b, who notes that "he was one of the most elegant of the ᶜulamâ' I have met." ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy reads this as a statement of Samᶜânî (d. 562/1166), while it is actually Manṣûrî's student al-Hakîm al-Nîsâbûrî (d. 405/1014) speaking. See Ibn Hajar al-ᶜAsqalânî, Lisân al-Mîzân, 6 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Maᶜârif al-Niẓâmîyah, 1329-31/1911-13), 1:272.

[6]The impression is definitely that the individuals named were actually from Sind. This is explicitly assumed by Mumtaz Pathan, "Development and Progress of Arabic Literature in Sind during the Arab Period," IC 42 (April 1968):118-21, who lists scholars with local nisbahs as flourishing in Arab Sind.

[7]Abû al-Ma[c]âlî Athar Mubârakpûrî, al-[c]Arab wa-al-Hind fî [c]ahd al-risâlah, trans. [c]Abd al-[c]Azîz [c]Izzat [c]Abd al-Jalîl, Dirâsât Islâmîyah (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Misrîyah al-[c]Âmmah lil-Kitâb, 1973); Hindôstân mên [c]Arabôn kê hukûmatên, Silsilah-yi Nadvat al-Muṣannifîn, no. 101 (Delhi: Nadvat al-Muṣannifîn, 1387/1967); Khilâfat-i Râshidah awr Hindôstân, Silsilah-yi Nadvat al-Muṣannifîn, no. 118 (Delhi: Nadvat al-Muṣannifîn, 1391/1972); Khilâfat-i Umvîyah aur Hindôstân, Silsilah-yi Nadvat al-Muṣannifîn, no. 127 (Delhi: Nadvat al-Muṣannifîn, 1975); Rijâl al-Sind wa-al-Hind ilâ al-qarn al-sâbi[c] (Bombay: al-Maṭba[c]ah al-Ḥijâzîyah, 1958).

[8]Mubârakpûrî considers the following nisbahs Sindî (not just Indian): al-Dâwarî (Rijâl, pp. 104, 168), al-Bâmiyânî (ibid., pp. 77, 231), al-Bûqânî (ibid., pp. 193, 206), al-Kulhî (ibid., p. 207), al-Kasî (ibid., p. 165). He even claims the famous historian and polymath Abû al-Rayḥân al-Bîrûnî for the city of Nîrûn in Sind (ibid., pp. 207-10), adding the nisbah al-Sindî to his name. For a critical analysis of Mubârakpûrî's Rijâl see Abû Maḥfûz al-Karîm Ma[c]sûmî, "Sind ô Hind kâ êk [c]ilmî ô saqâfî tazkirah," Burhân 43 (1959):19-32, 84-100, 149-63.

[9]Muhammad Ishaq, India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature, University of Dacca, Bulletin, no. 22 (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1955). Also see the sketchy discussion of M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature, from Ancient Times until the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (Allahabad: Dikshit Press, 1946; reprint ed., Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1968), pp. xxx-xxxii, 11-14.

[10]Ibid., pp. 22-44 ("Hadith Literature in Sind under the Arabs") and pp. 197-215 ("Cultural Activities of the War-Prisoners"). It should be noted that Ishaq assumes, without proof, that those individuals bearing a Sindî nisbah were "war-prisoners" rather than, for example, merchants.

[11]Ibid., p. 35. The nisbah is properly al-Dabîlî not al-Daybulî (see below note 31).

[12]Ibid., pp. 207-9. See Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, Ta'rîkh Baghdâd, 14 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khânjî, 1349/1931), 8:328; Shams al-Dîn al-Dhahabî, Mîzân al-i[c]tidâl fî-naqd al-rijâl, ed. [c]Alî Muhammad al-Bajâwî, 4 vols. (Cairo: [c]Îsâ al-Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1382/1963), 1:660.

[13] N. A. Baloch, "Objectives of Education in the Pakistani Society before Colonial Rule," in Arabic and Islamic Garland (London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1397/1977), pp. 59-67; Mohammad Tahir Mallick, "Early Traditionists of Sind," JPHS 27 (April 1979): 154-65; Muhammad Ismâ^cîl al-Nadawî, Ta'rîkh al-ṣilât bayn al-Hind wa-al-bilâd al-^cArabîyah (Beirut: Dâr al-Fath lil-Ṭibâ^cah wa-al-Nashr, n.d.), pp. 66-69; Mumtaz Husain Pathan, Arab Kingdom of al-Mansurah in Sind (Hyderabad, Sind: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sind, 1974), pp. 141-56; Lakiari Sayed Yaqoob Shah, "The Schools of Arabic of Former Province of Sind" (M. A. dissertation, University of Sind, Hyderabad, 1966). Also note the two brief papers read before the International Seminar on Sind through the Centuries, Karachi, Pakistan, 2-7 March 1975: S. Akhtar Imam, "Sind-Arab Cultural Relationship," and Muhammad Aslam, "Education and Learning in Sind during the Arab Rule."

[14] (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Karachi, 1391/1971), pp. 263-308.

[15] Apart from the haphazard division between those Muslims from Sind and those abroad, the major influence on his biographies (in terms of actual individuals listed and the form of his presentation) comes from the Rijâl of Mubârakpûrî.

[16] For example, he considers as Sindîs the imâms Abû Ḥanîfah (ibid., pp. 274-75) and Makḥûl al-Shâmî (ibid., p. 277) whose ancestors may have come from Kâbul. Under the title "Sindî ^culamâ' in Sind and abroad," he lists twenty-six individuals with a Hindî nisbah (pp. 309-18) with the unproven assumption that they were Hindus from Sind. This inability to focus on Sind, the topic of his thesis, is found throughout his work. For example, pp. 242-63, he writes about "the progress of sciences and arts in Arab Sind," including such topics as ethics, logic, medicine, alchemy, mathematics, but is unable to discuss any of the matters relative to either Sindîs or Sind.

[17] Hindî (ibid., pp. 270, 309-14), Bâmiyânî (p. 269), Bâsandî (p. 269), Kasî (p. 291), Kulhî (p. 293), Dâwarî (p. 299), Malîbârî (p. 293), Kâbulî (pp. 274-76, 277-78, 281), Zuṭṭî (pp. 271-73, 280, 284). Husaynî's practice of adding the nisbah al-Sindî incorrectly to these names probably derives from Mubârakpûrî.

[18] Ibid., pp. 268-70 ("Sindî ^culamâ' within Sind") and pp. 271-318 ("Sindî ^culamâ' outside Sind"). It should be noted that Husaynî takes a very broad definition of ^culamâ', including not only religious scholars but rebels, politicians, and even concubines.

[19] Compare ibid., p. 268, with pp. 280-307. The same is true of Daybulîs (compare p. 269 with pp. 288, 291, 293, 295)

and Mansûrîs (compare p. 270 with p. 284). He also lists a Bâsandî (p. 269), a Bâmiyânî (p. 269), and a Hindî (p. 270) as actually from Sind where the only evidence again is the nisbah which, in any case, does not apply to Sind.

[20]Pathan, Mansurah, p. 141.

[21]Ibid., p. 143.

[22]G. E. L. Carter, A Short History of the Province of Sind (Karachi: Commissioner's Press, 1916), p. 10, asserts that in Arab Sind "merely the bare elements of Islam were insisted on." The prejudice is particularly noted in discussions of conversion (see above pp. 81-87).

[23]While especially evident in Husaynî's dissertation, it is a common error. Mubârakpûrî, for example, considers the tribal nisbahs of the Zuṭṭ, Sayâbijah, Ahâmirah, Asâwirah, Biyâsirah, and Takâkirah as Sindî, thus allowing him to claim for Sind such individuals as Sufyân al-Ahmarî and ᶜAbd al-Rahmân al-Ahmarî. See his al-ᶜArab wa-al-Hind, pp. 45-81.

[24]Kâbul was never considered part of Sind by the classical Arab historians and geographers nor was it ever controlled by Arabs from Sind. It may, however, have been primarily Indian (not Sindî) in culture before the Muslim conquest. See C. E. Bosworth, "Notes on the Pre-Ghaznavid History of Eastern Afghanistan," Islamic Quarterly 9 (January-June 1965):12-24.

[25]On the principle that his grandfather Zuṭâ was a Jat (zuṭṭ) from Kâbul (Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:499). See Husaynî, pp. 274-76, who lists him among "Sindî ᶜulamâ' in Arab lands."

[26]Mubârakpûrî, Rijâl, pp. 243-44, Umvîyah, pp. 327, 423, 654-56; Husaynî, pp. 277-78; Nadawî, p. 52. Both Mubârakpûrî and Husaynî add the nisbah al-Sindî to his name.

[27]Following the rationale that his grandfather Bâb was a prisoner-of-war from Kâbul (Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:385). A Sindî nisbah is added to his name by Husaynî, pp. 281-82, and Mubârakpûrî, Rijâl, pp. 183-89, Umvîyah, pp. 649-51, Futûhât, pp. 197-98.

[28]N. A. Baloch, in his introduction to Bîrûnî's Ghurrah, p. 27, reflects that "al-Hindi is to be interpreted broadly as 'Indian', i.e. a non-Arab Sindhian delegate from Sind who might have been either a Hindu or a Muslim by faith." This has led

him to the unusual assertion that Muḥammad al-Fazârî and Ya^{c}qûb b. Ṭâriq spoke in Sindî to a certain Hindî in Baghdâd, "because this was the language with which the Arab scholars were more conversant" (p. 28). If a conversation took place in Baghdâd, it would surely have been in Arabic and not Sindî (or an Indian language). The assumption of equivalence between Hindî and Sindî is usual in works on Arab Sind. See Husaynî, pp. 309-18; Bede, pp. 205-8; and M. H. Panhwar, "The Influence of Ancient Sciences Including Those of Sind on Al Razi, the Great Persian Scientist," Sindhological Studies (Jamshero, Sind), Summer, 1977, pp. 51-52.

[29]The Arab geographers always differentiated between Sind, the region of the Indus, and Hind, the rest of the Indian subcontinent. Yâqût (3:166-67), for example, defines Sind as "the country between al-Hind and Mukrân and Sijistân . . . some include Mukrân as part of it." Indeed, Mukrân was usually considered part of Sind (see Istakhrî, pp. 170-80; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:317-30; Balâdhurî, pp. 431-46). See S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Hind. i.--The Geography of India According to the Mediaeval Muslim Geographers," EI^{2} 3 (1971):404-9.

[30]Pathan, "Arabic Literature," p. 117. For a similar claim see Bede, p. 207. The work was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c} (d. ca. 139/756) from a sixth century A.D. Pahlavi version. It is derived from the Sanskrit Pañcatantra and can hardly be claimed for Sind alone. See C. Brockelmann, "Kalîla wa-Dimna," EI^{2} 4 (1978):503-6, and Stutley and Stutley, pp. 217-18.

[31]The Qur'ân reciter Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hârûn Abû Bakr al-Râzî al-Dabîlî (d.370/980) is given as al-Daybulî by Khatîb al-Baghdâdî (5:113-14) which is accepted by Ishaq (p. 35), Mubârakpûrî (Rijâl, pp. 63-65), and Mallick (p. 159), all of whom consider him personally from Sind. Ḥusaynî inexplicably divides this individual into two and lists him, p. 269, among scholars within Sind and, p. 297, those outside of Sind (subsuming the former in the third and the latter in the fourth century A.H.). It is clear from Dhahabî (Mushtabah, p. 293) and Ibn Hajar (Tabṣîr, 2:575) that the preferred form of the nisbah is Dabîlî and the reference is to Dabîl al-Ramlah and not Daybul. In addition, Shu^{c}ayb b. Muḥammad Abû al-Qâsim al-Dabîlî is given the nisbah al-Daybulî by Sam^{c}ânî (fol. 236b), which is accepted by Ishaq (p. 36), ^{c}Abd al-Ḥayy (1:67), Mallick (p. 163), Mubârakpûrî (Rijâl, p. 157), and Ḥusaynî (p. 295). The proper form is indicated by Dhahabî (ibid., p. 293) and Ibn Ḥajar (ibid., 2:575).

[32]Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abû Ḅakr al-Manṣûrî (d. 422/1030) is claimed for Manṣûrah in Sind by Mubârakpûrî (Rijâl, p. 58) and Ḥusaynî (p. 270) on the basis of the biography given by

Hamzah b. Yûsuf al-Sahmî, Ta'rîkh Jurjân (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Maᶜârif al-ᶜUthmânîyah, 1369/1950), p. 85. Since Sahmî is writing of notables in Jurjân, the nisbah may well refer to the city of Manṣûrah in Jurjân and not in Sind (see Yâqût, 4:665).

33The nisbah of Hibbat Allâh b. Sahl al-Sayyidî (d. 533/1138) is read as al-Sindî by Mubârakpûrî (Rijâl, pp. 263-64) and Ḥusaynî (p. 308) on the basis of Dhahabî, Tadhkirat al-ḥuffâẓ, 3d ed., 4 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Maᶜârif al-ᶜUthmânîyah, 1955-58), 4:9, 119. The correct form of the nisbah is given by Dhahabî in another work (Mushtabah, p. 373) and by Tâj al-Dîn al-Subkî, Ṭabaqât al-Shâfiᶜîyah al-kubrá, ed. Maḥmûd Muḥammad al-Ṭanâḥî and ᶜAbd al-Fattâḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥalû, 7 vols. (Cairo: ᶜÎsá al-Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1964), 7:326-27. In another case, Mubârakpûrî (Futûḥât, p. 271) has read Sindî b. Ziyâd b. Abî Kabshah al-Saksakî for the well-known Sarî b. Ziyâd (see Crone, p. 96).

34Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣâliḥ al-Qâḍî al-Manṣûrî and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qâḍî al-Manṣûrî are given as two different traditionists and qâḍîs of Manṣûrah (and even supplied with different dates of death), both of whom studied under Abû al-ᶜAbbâs b. al-Athram and taught al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî, lived in ᶜIrâq and Fârs, and were qâḍîs of Manṣûrah in Sind and imâms of the Dâ'ûdî legal school (see biography no. 2 in appendix C for details and references). Sindî b. ᶜAbduwayh and Sahl b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân al-Sindî are also given as different traditionists (with variant dates of death) who were both qâḍîs of Hamadhân and Qazwîn, and had the same teachers, students and even kunyah (see biography no. 63 for details).

35Mubârakpûrî, Rijâl, p. 267, and Ḥusaynî, p. 280, following Abû Bishr Muḥammad al-Dawlâbî, Kitâb al-kuná wa-al-asmâ', 2 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Maᶜârif al-Niẓâmîyah, 1322/1904), 2:120. See biography no. 10 in appendix C for details.

36The explicit distinction between the two classes of individuals bearing Sindî nisbahs has been made only by Ḥusaynî, Ishaq, and Lakiari Shah. The most detailed formulation is by the latter who has divided Sindîs into four classes: (a) those Sindî by race, but born and educated abroad; (b) those Arab by race who immigrated to Sind; (c) those born and educated in Sind who left and died elsewhere; and (d) those born, educated, lived, and died in Sind. Most of his M.A. dissertation, however (including all those individuals in the last two classes), is concerned with the post-Arab period in Sind.

37Reynold A. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam (London: George Bell & Sons, 1914; reprint ed., London: Routledge and

Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 17; Max Horten, Indische Strömungen in der islamischen Mystik, Materialen zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 12-13, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz and Carl Winter, 1927-28), 1:4 note 2.

[38]R. C. Zaehner, Mysticism: Sacred and Profane (London: Clarendon Press, 1957; reprint ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1969), esp. p. 161; Idem, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1960; reprint ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 93-109.

[39]Ibid., Hindu and Muslim Mysticism, pp. 93-94.

[40]A. J. Arberry, "Bistamiana," BSOAS 25 (1962):28-37; Qassim al-Samarrai, The Theme of Ascension in Mystical Writings: A Study of the Theme in Islamic and Non-Islamic Mystical Writings (Baghdad: National Printing and Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 218-20; Muhammad Abdur Rabb, The Life, Thought and Historical Importance of Abu Yazid al-Bistami (Dacca: Academy for Pakistan Affairs, 1971), pp. 204-11.

[41]A. J. Arberry, Revelation and Reason in Islam (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957), p. 90. See Zaehner's defence against this charge in Hindu and Muslim Mysticism, p. 93, and Arberry's counter-rebuttal in "Bistamiana," p. 35.

[42]Al-Samarrai, pp. 219-20.

[43]Ibid., pp. 218-20.

[44]All the nisbahs given under "al-Sind" by Sam^{c}ânî, fol. 313b-314, Yâqût, 3:166-67, and ^{c}Alî b. al-Athîr, al-Lubâb fî-tahdhîb al-Ansâb, 3 vols. (Baghdâd: Maktabat al-Muthannâ, n.d.), 2:148, indisputably refer to the Arab province of the Indus. See above p. 286 note 29 for the distinction between Sind and Hind.

[45]Ibn Khallikân, Wafayât al-a^{c}yân wa-anbâ' abnâ' al-zamân, trans. MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols. (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1843-71), 3:94 (italics of the translator). Also see Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, 2:147-48.

[46]Nor does it mean that, even if personally from Sind, Abû ^{c}Alî was a convert, or even a convert from Hinduism; or, if a Hindu convert, that he would be acquainted with the monist views of Śankara. See the discussion above pp. 264-65.

[47] Arberry, "Bistamiana," p. 37 note 1.

[48] Abdur Rabb, p. 206.

[49] Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhîb al-tahdhîb*, 12 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Ma^{c}ârif al-Nizâmiyah, 1325-27/1907-9), 10:419.

[50] Khatîb, 8:431; Muhammad b. Sa^{c}d, *Kitâb al-tabaqât al-kabîr*, ed. Edward Sachau et al., 9 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1905-40), 5:309; Ibn Qutaybah, *Kitâb al-ma^{c}ârif*, ed. Tharwat ^{c}Ukâshah, Dhakhâ'ir al-^{c}Arab, no. 44, 2d ed. (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma^{c}ârif, 1969), p. 504.

[51] Sam^{c}ânî, fol. 313b; Khatîb, 13:427; Yâqût, 3:166-67; Dhahabî, *Tadhkirat*, 1:235.

[52] Ibn Khallikân, 3:438-39, notes that he was an *akhrab* slave and gives "having the ears slit" as the meaning. Abû ^{c}Uthmân ^{c}Amr b. Bahr al-Jâhiz, *Kitâb al-hayawân*, ed. ^{c}Abd al-Salâm Muhammad Hârûn, 7 vols. (Cairo: Mustafâ al-Bâbî al-Halabî, 1938-45), 3:434, calls the Sindî in general a *sâhib al-khurbah*, "ear-piercer." His observation is confirmed specifically for Sind by the geographer Maqdisi, p. 482. This practice might well indicate a convert origin if it refers to the well-known yogi custom of ear-splitting which was done to open a mystical channel for the adept. A group of Śaivites (closely connected to the Pâśupata who were the major Hindu sect of Sind) were termed Kânphata (from *kân*, "ear" and *phata*, "split") after this practice.

[53] See, for example, biographies nos. 1, 2, 8 in appendix C. While none of the individuals bearing Sindî *nisbahs* can be proven to have been descendants of the Arab conquerors or settlers, none can be definitely proven to be converts either.

[54] Yohanan Friedmann, "The Beginnings of Islamic Learning in Sind--A Reconsideration," *BSOAS* 37 (1974):659-64.

[55] Ibid., p. 663.

[56] Ibid., pp. 662-63. See biography no. 7 for references and details.

[57] Friedmann (ibid., p. 663) suggests the improvement *al-^{c}âsî* for *al-qâdî*, but the primary sources are unanimously in favour of the latter. See biography no. 2.

[58] See biography no. 6.

[59] See p. 286 note 31 above for references.

[60] See biographies nos. 21 and 50.

[61] See biography no. 21.

[62] Hayyim J. Cohen, pp. 16-61; Bulliet, Conversion, chap. 2: "Regional Variation in Islamic History," pp. 7-15; Idem, "A Quantitative Approach to Medieval Muslim Biographical Dictionaries," JESHO 13 (April 1970):195-211.

[63] Cohen, p. 24.

[64] Ibid., p. 27.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., p. 24.

[67] Jâḥiẓ, Ḥayawân, 3:434. Cf., 3:435 for his account of the qualities of Sind and attributes of Sindîs. It is apparent that by Sind he means the Indus province and not just India since when writing of Sindî eunuchs (1:118) he specifies the group brought by Mûsâ b. Ka^{c}b. The reference is clearly to the first effective ^{c}Abbâsid governor of Sind (134-38/751-55), Mûsâ b. Ka^{c}b b. ^{c}Uyaynah al-Tamîmî (Ibn Khayyâṭ, 2:439, 441, 463).

[68] Idem, Rasâ'il, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khânjî, 1384/1964), 1:212.

[69] Abû Ma^{c}shar pronounced kâf as qâf (Khaṭîb, 13:427; Sam^{c}ânî, fol. 313b), while Abû ^{c}Aṭâ' pronounced shîn as sîn, jîm and zâ' as zây, ^{c}ayn as alif, ḥâ' as hâ', ḍâd as dâl, and ṭâ' as tâ' (Ibn Khallikân, 3:438-39; N. B. Baloch, "The Diwan of Abû ^{c}Aṭâ' of Sind," IC 23 [1949]:149-50). According to Marzubânî, p. 228, the Sindî father of the famous Basran grammarian Abû al-Faḍl al-^{c}Abbâs b. al-Faraj al-Riyâshî (d. 257/870) pronounced the name of his son Abbâs rather than ^{c}Abbâs. Annemarie Schimmel (Islamic Literatures, p. 2) indicates that Sindîs still pronounce shîn as sîn and jîm as zây. It would appear that Sindîs were also recognizable by their dress. The Mâlikite jurist Muḥammad b. ^{c}Abd Allâh al-Tamîmî al-Abharî (d. 375/985) had a dream in which he saw an ascetic dressed like a Sindî. See Tanûkhî, 3:194.

[70]Sam^c^ânî, fol. 314. Cf., the famous retort: "My family line (nasab) begins with me; yours ends with you" (Mottahedeh, p. 100).

[71]Ibn Sa^c^d, 6:173: "Love the pious ones of the faithful, the pious ones of the Banû Hâshim, and do not be a Shî^c^ite. Defer what you do not know and do not be a Murji'ite. Know that the good is from Allâh and the evil from yourself and do not be a Qadarite. Love him whom you see doing good, even if he be a Sindî."

[72]See above table 3 (p. 235) and graph 1 (p. 249). The explanation for this decline is discussed below in chapter 5.

[73]See above pp. 233-36 and table 2 (p. 234).

[74]See above pp. 237-38.

[75]For a general overview of the method see Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," in Historical Studies Today, ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), pp. 107-40. For specific applications see J. E. Neale, "The Biographical Approach to History," in J. E. Neale, Essays in Elizabethan History (London: Jonathan Cape, 1958), pp. 225-37; and the analyses by Claude Nicolet ("Prosopographie et histoire sociale: Rome et l'Italie à l'époque républicaine"), André Chastagnol ("La Prosopographie, méthode du recherche sur l'histoire du Bas-Empire"), and Jacqueline Sublet ("La Prosopographie Arabe") in Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations 25 (1970): 1209-39.

[76]Cited by A. J. Graham, "The Limitations of Prosopography in Roman Imperial History," Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt 2 (1974):137.

[77]Maqdisî, p. 481.

[78]B. Dodge in Ibn al-Nadîm, 1:545 note 1. Also see Alfred Guillaume, The Traditions of Islam: An Introduction to the Study of the Hadith Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), pp. 69-76; Ignaz Goldziher, Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien), ed. S. M. Stern, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, 2 vols. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967-71), 2:80-85; Joseph Schacht, "Ahl al-hadîth," EI[2] 1 (1960):258-59; Idem, The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), pp. 253-57; Idem, An Introduction to Islamic Law (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 34-36.

[79]Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:545-62. See below appendix C biographies nos. 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, 21, 22, 27, 35, 36, 43, 47, 48, 50, 51, 54, 57, 58, 61, 63, 64, 68.

[80]Consider, for example, the observations of W. M. Watt, Islamic Thought, p. 5.

[81]Maqdisî, p. 481.

[82]Abdul Ghafur, pp. 65-90. Cf., Ashfaque, pp. 182-209. According to Abdul Ghafur, the inscriptions date from the third century A.H.

[83]Ibn Qutaybah, Ta'wîl mukhtalif al-ḥadîth (Cairo, 1326/1908), p. 19, cited by W. M. Watt, Islamic Thought, p. 296.

[84]Abdul Ghafur, pp. 85-86 and plate 28. For Muslim discussions of the vision of God see Watt, ibid., pp. 245-48.

[85]Abdul Ghafur, pp. 87-88 and plates 26b and 27.

[86]For the controversy see W. Montgomery Watt, "Early Discussions about the Qur'ân," MW 40 (1950):27-40, 96-105, and A. S. Tritton, "The Speech of God," Studia Islamica 36 (1972): 5-23.

[87]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, chap. 1: "The Advent of the Ṣaḥâba in India," pp. 1-20. Ishaq, however, recognizes that "they could not do the work of Ḥadîth transmission to this country . . . because either their stay here was too short or they did not find permanent Muslim colonies to whom they could bequeath the science" (p. 20). There is a large secondary literature on the Companions who participated in these early raids on Mukrân. See, for example, M. Ishaq, "Companions," pp. 109-14; Idem, Hakim Bin Jabala--An Heroic Personality of Early Islam," JPHS 3 (April 1955):138-50; N. A. Baloch, "Early Advent," pp. 61-73; N. B. Baloch, "The Probable Date of the First Arab Expeditions to India," IC 20 (July 1946):250-66; S. Q. Fatimi, "First Muslim Invasion of the N.W. Frontier of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, 44 A.H. 664-5 A.D.," JASP 7 (June 1963):37-45; K. A. Rashid, "The First Muslim Invasion of the N.W. Frontier of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent 44 A.H./664-5 A.D.," JASP 8 (December 1963):25-32; Nisar Ahmad, "A Fresh Estimate of Early Arab Invasions of India," Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda 16 (December 1966):183-87; Sayyid Sulaymân Nadvî, "Hindôstân mêṇ ʿilm-i ḥadîth," Maʿârif 22 (1347/1928):250-51.

[88]Mubârakpûrî, Futûḥât, p. 27.

[89]See the discussion above pp. 130-31.

[90]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 22-23.

[91]Ibid., p. 23. Also see ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy, 1:44-45; Mubârakpûrî, Umvîyah, pp. 606-7; Ḥusaynî, p. 263.

[92]Chachnâmah, p. 235.

[93]Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[94]Ibid. Cf. Qâniᶜ, p. 55.

[95]Ibid., p. 101.

[96]Ibn Saᶜd, 6:212-13; Ṭabarî, 3:2494; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 7:224-26.

[97]Balâdhurî, p. 439; Chachnâmah, p. 236 (incorrectly as Rândah b. ᶜUmayrah al-Ṭâ'î). Balâdhurî has him proving his "valour" at Multân, while the Chachnâmah specifies Iskalandah, a fort adjacent to Multân. For his activities as a traditionist see Ibn Saᶜd, 6:218.

[98]Ibn Khayyâṭ, Ta'rîkh, 1:308, relates an eyewitness account of the Arab battle with Dâhir told by Kahmas b. al-Hasan to his son. For Kahmas as a traditionist see Ibn Khayyâṭ, Kitâb al-ṭabaqât, ed. Akram Ḍiyâ' al-ᶜUmarî (Baghdad: Maṭbaᶜat al-ᶜÂnî, 1387/1967), p. 221; Ibn Saᶜd, 7ii:31; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 8:450-51; Ibn Abî Ḥâtim al-Râzî, 7:170-71.

[99]Chachnâmah, pp. 160, 174, 180, 218. The identification is aided by Ibn Saᶜd (7ii:8) who gives the variation Muḥammad b. Ziyâd (not Zayd). As a traditionist see Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 7:256, and Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 6:690.

[100]Chachnâmah, p. 174. There was also an ᶜAṭîyah b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân al-Thaᶜlabî in the Thaqafite army of conquest (ibid., pp. 155, 202) who was later in Sind during the governorships of ᶜAmr b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafî and Manṣûr b. Jumhûr al-Kalbî (Yaᶜqûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:390; Ṭabarî, 2:1979). Perhaps he was the father of Shamir? See Ibn Saᶜd, 6:212.

[101]Chachnâmah, p. 187. See Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 3:560-61, and

Ibn Mâkûlâ, al-Ikmâl fî-raf[c] al-irtiyâb [c]an al-mu'talaf wa-al-mukhtalaf min al-asmâ' wa-al-kunâ wa-al-ansâb, ed. [c]Abd al-Raḥmân b. Yaḥyâ al-Mu[c]allamî, 6 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Ma[c]ârif al-[c]Uthmânîyah, 1381-86/1962-67), 3:216.

[102]Chachnâmah, p. 187. See Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 3:366-67, and Dawlâbî, 2:88.

[103]Ishaq, Hadîth Literature, pp. 22-28.

[104]Ibid., pp. 23-24. For Yazîd's eighteen day governorship over Sind see Balâdhurî, p. 441. For his abilities as a traditionist see Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 11:354-55.

[105]Ibid., pp. 24-25. For Mufaddal's death in Qandâbîl see Balâdhurî, p. 442; Ibn Khayyâṭ, Ta'rîkh, 1:334; Ṭabarî, 2:1410-12. For the revolt of Yazîd b. al-Muhallab see Francesco Gabrieli, "La Rivolta dei Muhallabiti nel [c]Irâq e il nuovo Balâdurî," Rendiconti de l'Accademia dei Lincei 14 (1938):199-236.

[106]Ibid., pp. 26-28; [c]Abd al-Ḥayy, 1:31-32; Zubaid Ahmad, pp. xxxi, 11; Nadawî, p. 67; Hashimi, p. 206; M. N. Nabi, Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India (Aligarh: University Press, 1962), p. 7; Raḥmân [c]Alî b. Ḥakîm Shêr [c]Alî, Tazkirah-yi [c]ulamâ'-yi Hind (Lucknow: Nawal Kishôr, 1914), p. 3.

[107]For the maritime raid see Balâdhurî, p. 369; Ṭabarî, 3:460-61; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 6:46. Also see the discussion by Farouk Omar, The [c]Abbâsid Caliphate, 135/750-170/786 (Baghdad: National Printing and Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 329-30. Janaki, pp. 61-64, has identified Bârbad with Barada in Gujarat.

[108]To be sure, the fleet did have Sindî connections since the army consisted of, among others, Asâwirah and Siyâbijah, tribes of Sindî origin (Ṭabarî, 3:460-61; Balâdhurî, pp. 373-75) and its commander, [c]Abd al-Malik b. Shihâb al-Misma[c]î, was appointed deputy governor of Sind shortly thereafter (ca. 161/777), although only for ten to twenty days (see Ṭabarî, 3:491; Ya[c]qûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:479-80).

[109]See biography no. 5 for details.

[110]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, p. 26. For his governorship over Sind see Ibn Khayyâṭ, Ta'rîkh, 1:329, 342, and Balâdhurî, p. 442. For his role as a traditionist see Ibn Khayyâṭ, Ṭabaqât, p. 288, and Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 8:105.

[111]Balâdhurî, pp. 441-42; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 4:589-90, 5:54-55. The later Sindî tradition is given by Qâni^c, p. 45.

[112]According to Ibn Khayyâṭ, Ta'rîkh, 1:324 (the only source to place him in Sind), he was joint governor with Ḥabîb b. al-Muhallab. For his interest in ḥadîth see Muḥammad b. Ismâ^cîl al-Bukhârî, Kitâb al-ta'rîkh al-kabîr, 4 vols. in 8 (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Ma^cârif al-^cUthmânîyah, 1360-84/1941-64), 3ii:426.

[113]For his governorship over Sind see Ibn Khayyâṭ, Ta'rîkh, 2:375; Ya^cqûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:388, 399-400, 407; Ṭabarî, 2:1839; Ibn Ḥabîb, Kitâb asmâ' al-mughtâlîn min al-ashrâf fî-al-jâhilîyah wa-al-Islâm, ed. ^cAbd al-Salâm Hârûn, Nawâdir al-makhṭûṭât, 6-7, 2 vols. (Cairo: al-Khânjî, 1374/1954), 1:184. His role as a traditionist is noted by Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 5:338. For the many variations of his name consult Kalbî, 1:293, 2:423; Ibn Mâkûlâ, 2:564-65, 6:188; and Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1852-53; reprint ed., Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1966), 2:312.

[114]His business in Sind is noted by Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 2:140. Also see Khaṭîb, 6:186, and Ibn al-Jawzî, al-Muntaẓam fî-ta'rîkh al-mulûk wa-al-umam, 6 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Ma^cârif al-^cUthmânîyah, 1938-39), 5ii:46.

[115]Sufyân al-Thawrî taught Yazîd b. ^cAbd Allâh al-Baysarî and ^cAbd Allâh b. al-Sindî; Sufyân b. ^cUyaynah taught Rajâ' b. al-Sindî; Yaḥyâ b. Sa^cîd al-Qaṭṭân taught Khalaf b. Sâlim al-Sindî. See the respective biographies in appendix C for details.

[116]Ibn al-Mubârak taught Rajâ' b. al-Sindî (q.v.) and Sindî b. Abî Hârûn (q.v.).

[117]That is, Yazîd b. ^cAbd Allâh al-Baysarî, Najîḥ b. ^cAbd al-Raḥmân al-Sindî, Isrâ'îl b. Mûsâ, and ^cAbd al-Raḥîm b. Ḥammâd al-Sindî (q.v.).

[118]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 28-44.

[119]Ibid., p. 28.

[120]Ibid., p. 29.

[121]Friedmann, "Early History," pp. 309-33; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, A History of Sufism in India, vol. 1: Early Sufism and Its History in India to 1600 AD (New Delhi: Munshiram Mano-

harlal, 1978), p. 110.

[122]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, p. 29.

[123]See individual biographies in appendix C.

[124]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, p. 28.

[125]Ibid. Ishaq gives no evidence for the supposed insecurity of Sind during the first two centuries A.H. Friedmann, "Early History," p. 316, believes "the frequent change of governors was one of the main reasons for the instability of Arab rule in Sind." He also cites tribal feuds and the conflict with local non-Arabs as contributory factors.

[126]Jacob Lassner, The Shaping of ᶜAbbâsid Rule, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 89. See below appendix B for the governors of Sind during this period. The circulation of Sindî governors is no more acute than that of other regions during the ᶜAbbâsid period. During the caliphate of al-Manṣûr (136-58/754-75), Sind had six governors compared to six for Mecca, eleven for Baṣrah, and seven each for Medina, Jazîrah, and Mawṣil (Lassner, p. 89). During the caliphate of al-Mahdî (158-69/775-85), Sind had nine governors (two of whom were only temporary deputies, and one of whom was dismissed before actually reaching Sind) compared to nine for Medina, ten for Jazîrah, and six each for Baṣrah and Mawṣil. The number of Sindî governors appointed is actually inflated due to the practice of the incumbent governor appointing a temporary replacement (often a relative) to serve until the ᶜAbbâsid nominee arrived in Sind. The circulation of Sindî governors to and from the central heartlands would appear to indicate considerable control over Sind by the ᶜAbbâsids and not anarchy.

[127]See appendix B for these governors.

[128]Hugh Kennedy, The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 76. The second longest tenure (fifteen years) was that of ᶜÎsá b. Mûsá over Kûfah.

[129]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 28-44; Pathan, Mansurah, pp. 146-51; Qureshi, pp. 44-45; Hashimi, p. 206; Mallick, pp. 154-65.

[130]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 30-41. See the discussion above pp. 215-16.

[131]See biographies nos. 2, 3, 7, 14, 21, 37, 39, 48, 50.

[132]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 37-38. Also see Pathan, Mansurah, pp. 146-48, and Annemarie Schimmel, Sindhi Literature, A History of Indian Literature, vol. 8, part 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), p. 3.

[133]See biographies nos. 2 and 14.

[134]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 37-39; Pathan, Mansurah, p. 146. Since Ibn al-Nadîm (trans. Dodge, 1:532) refers to the books with reference to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad's role as a Dâ'ûdî jurist, it is likely that they concerned jurisprudence rather than ḥadîth proper (see biography no. 2).

[135]Ishaq, ibid., p. 41. See biography no. 60. Samᶜânî (fol. 455b) refers to another Quṣdârî, Jaᶜfar b. al-Khaṭṭâb (see biography no. 6), but he is designated as a jurist (faqîh) and ascetic (zâhid), not a traditionist. Ishaq, however (p. 41), includes him among the Quṣdârî traditionists.

[136]Nadvî, ᶜArab ô Hind, p. 303. The argument of a Multân centre of Islamic culture is also found in Qureshi, p. 44, and Durrani, p. 253.

[137]The only scholar mentioned in the primary sources who was actually from Multân is Hârûn b. Mûsâ al-Azdî, an Arab poet renowned for his elephant poetry. However, while a resident of Multân, he did not bear the nisbah al-Multânî. See Masᶜûdî, Murûj, 3:14-16; Jâḥiẓ, Ḥayawân, 7:75-77, 114-16.

[138]Even though almost half of the Sindî traditionists abroad during the fourth/tenth century carried a Daybulî nisbah, this does not render Daybul "one of the greatest centres of learning in the Islamic world," as argued by Aslam (p. 1).

[139]Arthur L. Greil, "Previous Dispositions and Conversion to Perspectives of Social and Religious Movements," Sociological Analysis 38 (Summer 1977):115-25.

[140]Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization, vol. 1: The Classical Age of Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 391. Also see Goldziher, Muslim Studies, 2:145-63.

[141]See above pp. 43-47.

[142]See the observations of Conze noted above p. 47.

[143]Hodgson, pp. 386-92, is particularly illuminating on the "textualist piety" of the ashâb al-hadîth. Also see Schacht, Origins, pp. 253-57, and Introduction, pp. 34-36. Schacht unfortunately renders ashâb al-hadîth simply as "traditionists" without distinguishing the group from the neutral muhaddithûn ("traditionists"). See Watt, Islamic Thought, pp. 66-67, for a criticism of this blurring of the distinction.

[144]The following discussion of Vinaya textualism is based primarily on S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks, pp. 74-84, 172-73, 249-60, and Early Buddhist Monachism: 600 B.C.-100 B.C., Trubner's Oriental Series (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1924), pp. 28-38. The Vinaya-Pitaka has been translated by I. B. Horner, The Book of the Discipline, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. 10-11, 13-14, 20, 25 (London: Luzac, 1938-66). Recent years have seen a resurgence of interest in the Vinaya. See Erich Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Serie Orientale Roma, no. 8 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956); G. S. P. Misra, The Age of Vinaya (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1972); and John C. Holt, Discipline: The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapitaka (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981).

[145]S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks, p. 270; G. Misra, p. 23.

[146]For the Vinaya note S. Dutt's observation (Buddhist Monachism, p. 28): "The rules of the Vinaya-pitaka were in point of fact derived from various material sources, but on each law the theory was superimposed that it had been promulgated by Buddha on a certain occasion." That is, traditions belonging to different periods of Buddhist monasticism are given a similar textual origin in the historical Buddha's pronouncements. For a similar process among Muslims where fabricated traditions of a later period were referred back to the historical Prophet Muhammad see Goldziher, Muslim Studies, vol. 2, chaps. 3-4, and Schacht, Origins, pp. 138-89.

[147]S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks, p. 76.

[148]Idem, Buddhist Monachism, pp. 30-32.

[149]See A. J. Wensinck, "Sunna," SEI, pp. 552-53, and James Robson, "Hadîth," EI^2 3 (1971):23-28.

[150]S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks, pp. 172-75.

[151]Ibid., pp. 172-73, 249-50.

[152]Hodgson, p. 388; Schacht, "Ahl al-ḥadîth," pp. 258-59.

[153]S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks, p. 250; Idem, Buddhist Monachism, pp. 28-30; Misra, pp. 23-24.

[154]See above p. 46.

[155]Hodgson, p. 392. For specific exampls of aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth views on the vision of God and the createdness of the Qur'ân see above pp. 237-38.

[156]See biographies nos. 1, 19, 20, 21, 22, 46, 48.

[157]Subkî, 3:55. See biography no. 22. For a discussion of the veneration of saints in Islam see Goldziher, Muslim Studies, 2:255-341.

[158]Khatîb, 4:187. See biography no. 27. According to ᶜAlî b. ᶜUthmân al-Hujwîrî, Kashf al-mahjûb, trans. Reynold A. Nicholson, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 17, new ed. (London: Luzac, 1936), p. 214: "Of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred, called Akhyâr, and forty, called Abdâl, and seven, called Abrâr, and four, called Awtâd, and three, called Nuqabâ, and one, called Qutb or Ghawth." See I. Goldziher, "Abdâl," EI^2 1 (1960):94-95.

[159]Samᶜânî, fol. 236b. See biography no. 21.

[160]As Marshall Hodgson observes (p. 393): "The early Ṣûfîs looked to disparate early founders, but soon formed a single movement, which was closely associated with the Ḥadîth folk. . . . In some cases it is hard to draw a line between what was Ṣûfî mystical self-examination and what was Ḥadîthî moralism."

[161]Later Sindî Ṣûfism has been well-documented. See Burton, chap. 4: "Tasawwuf, or Sufism in Sindh," pp. 198-231; Jethmal Parsram Gulraj, Sind and Its Sufis (Madras: Vesanta Press, 1924); Annemarie Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 383-98; Iᶜjâz al-Haqq Quddûsî, Tazkirah-yi ṣûfîyâ'-yi Sindh (Karachi: Urdu Academy, 1959).

[162]Qâniᶜ, p. 53; Gazetteer, B vol. 1:100.

[163]Cousens, p. 29, and Gazetteer, B vol. 1:100, both read the date as 171 A.H. The inscription is presently in the Hyderabad (Sind) Museum. The date is difficult to decipher, but Qâni[c], p. 53, read it several centuries ago as 171 and is probably correct.

[164]S. Moinul Haq, "Early Sufi Shaykhs of the Subcontinent," JPHS 22 (January 1974):5, calls it "the oldest tomb of a popular shaykh in Sind."

[165]Cousens, p. 29; Bede, pp. 166, 250.

[166]The Chachnâmah, p. 159, assigns no religious or saintly role to this individual; he is noted simply for drowning in the Indus River.

[167]N. G. Màjumdar, Explorations, pp. 21-22. The Buddhist creed is written in seventh-eighth century A.D. script, and thus is roughly contemporaneous to the Arab conquest. Cf. M. Aurel Stein's observation that Buddhist sites could be located in Central Asia by the shrines of Muslims saints ("Note on Buddhist Local Worship in Muhammadan Central Asia," JRAS, 1910, p. 839).

[168]Cousens, pp. 144-48. For the island of Bhakkar see Muḥammad Shafî[c], Sanâdîd-i Sindh, ed. Aḥmad Rabbânî (Lahore: Aḥmad Rabbânî, n.d.), pp. 36-91, and D. N. MacLean, "Bhakkar," Encyclopaedia Iranica, forthcoming.

[169]The inscription is given by Cousens, p. 145, fig. 25. The right edge is indistinct.

[170]As Yazdani rightly observes (ibid., p. 146).

[171]Yazdani suggests (ibid.) that the chronogram "may be the date of the death of the saint," but this is highly unlikely since Khwâjah Khiḍr was not a historical personage.

[172]Qur'ân 18.60-82. See A. J. Wensinck, "al-Khaḍir," EI[2] 4 (1978):902-5.

[173]Hujwîrî, pp. 141-42, 153, 290, 342, lists a number of Ṣûfîs said to have been inspired by Khiḍr.

[174]For the veneration of this saint in Sind see Burton, pp. 326-29; Gazetteer, B vol. 3:48-50; Titus, pp. 146-47; M. Longworth Dames, "Khwâdja Khidr," EI[2] 4 (1978):908; John Abbott, Sind: A Re-interpretation of the Unhappy Valley (New York: Oxford

University Press, 1924; reprint ed., Karachi: Indus Publications, 1977), pp. 59-64, 99-100; E. B. Eastwick, "Note on Allore and Rohri," JBBRAS 1 (April 1843):203-9.

175 J. Abbott, pp. 99-100; Cousens, pp. 148-49; Gazetteer, B vol. 3:48-50.

176 In this connection, it is interesting to note that a seventh century A.D. painted sculpture of Avalokiteśvara Padmapâṇî has been uncovered at the stûpa of Mirpur Khas (Cousens, p. 95; van Lohuizen, p. 6). This is the Boddhisattva of Compassion who, like Khiḍr, was known for the ability to protect travellers from shipwrecks and other disasters (S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks, p. 160). See Bruce Lawrence, pp. 113-14, for an interesting comparison between the Buddha and Khiḍr, and S. Beal, "Some Further Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki," JRAS, n.s., 16 (1884):270-74, for Buddhist elements in the Muslim legend of Khiḍr.

177 Maqdisî, p. 471.

178 For his itinerary in India and Sind see Louis Massignon, La Passion de Husayn Ibn Mansûr Hallâj: Martyr mystique de l'Islam exécuté à Bagdad le 26 mars 922, 2d ed., rev., 4 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 1:222-24. Annemarie Schimmel's suggestion (Mystical Dimensions, p. 67) that on his return from Sind, Ḥallâj was subjected to criticism for "his supposed relations with the Carmathians, who ruled not only Bahrain but also northern Sind and Multan--places that the mystic had just visited" needs to be revised. The Ismâᶜîlîs did not actually rule Multân or Upper Sind until some seventy years after the visit of Ḥallâj. See below chapter 5 for details.

179 Annemarie Schimmel, "The Martyr-Mystic Ḥallâj in Sindhi Folk-Poetry: Notes on a Mystical Symbol," Numen 9 (1962): 161-200.

180 For possible Indian influences on Ḥallâj see Horten, 1:1-17; Nadvî, ᶜArab ô Hind, pp. 247-49; Zaehner, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism, p. 20 et passim.

181 ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlavî, Akhbâr al-akhyâr fî-asrâr al-abrâr (Delhi: Muḥammadî, 1283/1866), p. 196. The story is certainly apocryphal in its details, although there is no reason to doubt his presence in Sind. For his tomb in Ûchh see Masᶜûd Ḥasan Shihâb, Khiṭṭah-yi pâk-i Ûch (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1967), pp. 172-80.

182 Amîr Ḥasan Dihlavî Sijzî, Fawâ'id al-fu'âd (Lucknow: Nawal Kishôr, 1312/1894), p. 50.

[183]This is primarily evident in Zaehner, but also see Horten, passim, and Nicholson, pp. 17-19.

[184]Zaehner, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism, p. 95 et passim.

[185]Dasgupta, 5:3.

[186]See above pp. 53-57.

[187]See above pp. 53-54.

[188]Sâyana, pp. 27-29, explains the former as "doing things which the world censures, as if one could not distinguish between what should be done and what should not" and the latter as "the uttering of words which contradict one another or which have no meaning." See the discussion above pp. 56-57.

[189]Hujwîrî, pp. 62-69 et passim. Also see J. Spencer Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), appendix B: "Şûfîs, Malâmatîs, and Qalandarîs," pp. 264-69.

[190]Ignaz Goldziher, Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law, trans. Andras and Ruth Hamori, with an Introduction and Additional Notes by Bernard Lewis, Modern Classics in Near Eastern Studies (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 149-50.

[191]See Hujwîrî, p. 65, for the motive. Cf. Abdur Râbb, pp. 88-90, 149. For his relationship to the Malâmatîyah see Trimingham, p. 265.

[192]Louis Massignon, "Shaṭḥ," EI[1] 4 (1934):335-36.

[193]For Bisṭâmî's shaṭaḥât see Abdur Rabb, pp. 141-83; for Ḥallâj see Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, pp. 64-77. Abdur Rabb has discussed the issue of why the ecstatic utterances of the former were acceptable while those of the latter were not.

[194]The avitadbhâṣana of the Pâśupata is clearly one of the six ways to achieve dismerit through the censure of the populace (see above pp. 56-57), while the shaṭaḥât were a result of an ecstatic mystical experience (see Abdur Rabb, pp. 141-42).

[195]Horten, 1:4 note 2, 17-25; 2:75 note 166; Zaehner, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism, p. 93; Nicholson, pp. 17-19; Louis

Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1922), p. 80 et passim.

[196]B. Carra de Vaux, "Fanâ'," SEI, p. 98; Arberry, "Bistamiana," pp. 28-37, and Revelation and Reason, pp. 90-91; Samarrai, pp. 218-20; Abdur Rabb, chap. 6: "The Problem of Possible Indian Influence on Abû Yazîd," pp. 185-211.

[197]Vaux, ibid., outlines the main arguments, even suggesting that a Christian (rather than Indian) origin is preferable. Also see Annemarie Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, pp. 47-48. The reluctance of Islamicists to pursue an Indian connection is paralleled by the classicists. Cf. Hermann Fränkel who said of a criticism of a comparison of Heraclitus with the Upanisads: "See how the Greek scholar fears the Upanishads. He does not merely think they are dangerous, he is really surprised to find that interest in them can coexist with sound interpretation." Quoted in Ben-Ami Scharfstein, ed., Philosophy East, Philosophy West (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 216.

[198]Hujwîrî, p. 243, indicates that "real annihilation from anything involves consciousness of its imperfection and absence of desire for it." This is certainly analogous to the Buddhist concept of nirvâṇa as the elimination of desire or craving. See the analysis by David J. Kalupahana, Buddhist Philosophy: A Historical Analysis (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976), pp. 69-90.

[199]See above pp. 55-57 for details and references.

[200]Sâyaṇa, p. 31.

[201]See above p. 57.

[202]Sâyaṇa, p. 32.

[203]Ibid., pp. 19-21; Pâśupta Sûtram, pp. 30-31.

[204]Jâmî, Nafaḥât al-uns min ḥaḍarât al-quds, ed. Mahdî Tawḥîdîpûrî (Tehran: Kitâb Furûshî-yi Saᶜdî, 1337 A.H.S.), p. 57.

[205]Also note the curious anecdote told by Muṣliḥ al-Dîn Saᶜdî (Bûstân, trans. G. M. Wickens, Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned, Persian Heritage Series, no. 17 [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974], p. 123) of Bisṭâmî rubbing ashes on his face and exclaiming, "My Soul! I'm fit for the Fire--Shall I, then, look askance at ashes?" One is reminded here of the most characteristic Pâśupata rite, smearing the body with ashes (see above p. 56).

[206]Ibn al-Jawzî, Sifat al-safwah, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Ma^cârif al-^cUthmânîyah, 1355-56/1936-37), 4:94. For Daybul and the Pâsupatas see above pp. 53-54.

[207]Khârijites are being discussed here for the sake of convenience. This is not to imply that they had anything in common with the Shî^cites apart from being sectarian.

[208]Istakhrî, p. 177; Ibn Hawqal, 2:325; Mas^cûdî, Murûj, 1:238-39; Idrîsî, p. 47. It is possible that by shurât, the Ibâdîyah Khârijite sect is meant. See T. Lewicki, "al-Ibâdiyya," EI² 3 (1971):648-60.

[209]Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 5:584; Ibn Khaldûn, 3:359; Yazîd b. Muhammad al-Azdî, Ta'rîkh al-Mawsil, ed. ^cAlî Habîbah (Cairo: Lajnat Ihyâ' al-Turâth al-Islâmî, 1387/1967), pp. 203-6. He was known variously as Hassân b. Yahyâ, Hassân b. Ghassân, and Hassân b. Mukhâlid. See Farouk Omar, pp. 293-94. For the relationship between the Ibâdîyah of ^cUmân and Mukrân see Lewicki, ibid., p. 653, and Bosworth, "Notes," pp. 23-24. The history of the movement is given in Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa," Journal of World History 13 (1971):51-130.

[210]Târîkh-i Sîstân, trans. Milton Gold, Persian Heritage Series, no 20, Serie Orientale Roma, no. 48, Literary and Historical Texts from Iran, no. 2 (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1976), p. 135. Gold has translated the "Sind" of the text (ed. Bahâr Khurâsânî [Tehran: Zavvâr, 1314/1935], p. 179) as "the Indus Valley." For Hamzah's revolt see Gholam Hossein Sadighi, Les Mouvements religieux Iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire (Paris: Les Presses modernes, 1938), pp. 54-56; C. E. Bosworth, Sîstân under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffârids (30-250/651-864), IsMEO, Reports and Memoirs, vol. 11 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1968), pp. 87-104.

[211]Târîkh-i Sîstân, trans., pp. 135, 139.

[212]The Târîkh-i Sîstân is the only source to mention the raid of Hamzah on Sind. It should be noted that the majority of Arab sources characterize the governorship of Dâ'ûd b. Yazîd al-Muhallabî (184-205/800-20), when these events would have taken place, as a period of peace and prosperity. See Ya^cqûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:494; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 6:166, 362.

[213]Shahrastânî, 1:130. See Bosworth, Sîstân, pp. 88, 92.

[214]Târîkh-i Sîstân, trans., pp. 164-65. See Bosworth, Sîstân, pp. 115-16, 118.

[215]Iṣṭakhrî, p. 177; Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 324; Maqdisî, p. 478.

[216]Tanûkhî, 3:88-90; also reported in Yâqût, 4:86-87.

[217]Ibid., 3:89-90.

[218]Ibid., 3:88. It should be noted, however, that the two Quṣdârîs noted in the biographical sources were not Khârijites: one was a traditionist, the other a jurist and ascetic. See biographies nos. 6 and 60.

[219]Watt, Islamic Thought, pp. 35-37; Julius Wellhausen, The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam, ed. R. C. Ostle, trans. R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer, North-Holland Medieval Translations, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1975), pp. 19-23.

[220]See biography no. 40.

[221]See biographies nos. 2, 9, 22.

[222]See biographies nos. 33 and 70.

[223]Maqdisî, p. 481.

[224]Ibid. Ishaq, Hadith Literature, p. 37, reads qaṣabât as "local townships" with the implication that the Ḥanafites were active only in the countryside. Maqdisî, however, uses the term only for the capital cities of Sind: Bannajbûr, capital of Mukrân; Quzdâr, capital of Ṭûrân; Manṣûrah, capital of Habbârid Sind; Multân, capital of Multân province; Wayhind, capital of Hind; and Qinnawj, capital of Qinnawj province (pp. 475-78).

[225]Yâqût, 3:166.

[226]Maqdisî, p. 477.

[227]See biographies nos. 2 and 9. The Ẓâhirite madhhab, also called Dâ'ûdî after the name of its founder Dâ'ûd b. Khalaf, was noted for deriving law from the literal meaning or text (ẓâhir) of the Qur'ân and the traditions. The standard account of this legal school is still Ignaz Goldziher, The Ẓâhirîs: Their Doctrine and Their History: A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology, trans. and ed. Wolfgang Behn (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971).

[228]Maqdisî, p. 481 (given as Abû Muḥammad).

[229]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, p. 38. See biography no. 2 for details.

[230]Pathan, Mansurah, p. 154, alleges, on the basis of Maqdisî, that Aḥmad al-Manṣûrî presided over large "public schools" with numerous students in Manṣûrah. This is not supported by Maqdisî (p. 477) who merely notes that he was an author and instructor.

[231]See biography no. 50.

[232]For Khalaf al-Sindî see biography no. 8. For Abû Bakr b. ᶜAyyâsh and ᶜÂṣim see Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:65.

[233]See biographies nos. 46, 49, 50. Also note the Qur'ânic inscription found at Daybul (see above p. 238).

[234]See biographies nos. 14, 45, 49.

[235]Chachnâmah, p. 101.

[236]Ibid., pp. 126, 143, 149, 189, 197, 228, 235.

[237]Ibid., pp. 113-14, quoting Qur'ân 2.249, 3.54, 9.73, 11.56, 12.5, 25.43, 58.22.

[238]See above p. 241. His tafsîr is noted by Sezgin, GAS, 1:30-31.

[239]Ibn Hawqal, 2:322. For the seven systems see W. Montgomery Watt, Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ân, Islamic Surveys, no. 8 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), pp. 47-50.

[240]Ibid., 2:324: "He could not multiply three by ten but he was one of the people of the Qur'ân."

[241]Pathan, Mansurah, p. 91. Cf., pp. 146-47. This "translation" is also mentioned by Qureshi, p. 41; Schimmel, Sindhi, pp. 3-4; Ghani, p. 403; Friedmann, "Early History," p. 323; Nadvî, ᶜArab ô Hind, pp. 241-42. For later Sindî translations and commentaries see Annemarie Schimmel, "Translations and Commentaries of the Qur'ân in Sindhi Language," Oriens 16 (1963):224-43, and Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi, "Sindhi Translations and Tafsirs of the Holy Quran," Sind Quarterly 5 (1977):33-49.

242 Râmhurmuzî, pp. 2-4.

243 Schimmel, Sindhi, translates Râmhurmuzî's "the king of al-Râ" (p. 2) as "the prince of Alor" (pp. 3-4). The reference, however, cannot be to a prince of Alor (i.e., Arôr, Arabic al-Rûr), a region of Sind conquered by the Arabs, since the text definitely has him as ruler over a region between Upper and Lower Kashmir. Perhaps al-Râ is equivalent to al-ṛây (see Mas^{c}ûdî, Murûj, 1:177), i.e., the title of the king, not the name of the region.

244 Râmhurmuzî, pp. 3-4. See Rashid Ahmad, "Qur'ânic Exegesis and Classical Tafsîr," Islamic Quarterly 12 (January-June 1968):71-119.

245 See biographies nos. 2 and 63.

246 See Mottahedeh, pp. 162-66, who considers the role of qâḍîs in regional loyalty, and Richard W. Bulliet, The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History, Harvard Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 16 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 61-65, who notes the struggle between various factions of Nîshâpûr for the office of qâḍî.

247 Chachnâmah, p. 235. See Qur'ân 3.104. For his alleged role as a traditionist see the discussion above p. 240.

248 Chachnâmah, pp. 9-10; Qâni^c, pp. 41, 55.

249 Ibn Baṭṭûṭah, 3:598, notes that it was actually signed by the caliph.

250 Gibb rightly notes (ibid.) "that at this date a caliph should have issued a diploma of appointment to a local khaṭîb is highly improbable."

251 Mas^{c}ûdî, Murûj, 1:377. For the family see J. C. Vadet, "Ibn Abi'l-Shawârib," EI^2 3 (1971):691-92, and Louis Massignon, Opera Minora, ed. Y. Moubarac, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Maaref, 1963), 1:258-65.

252 Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 7:482. Recent historians have expanded on the importance of this individual in Habbârid Sind. Pathan, Mansurah, p. 148, considers him "of great assistance to the rulers of al-Mansûrah in the judicial administration of the kingdom." However, he was only in Manṣûrah, if at all, for six months, which certainly limits his personal assistance. According to Ḥusaynî, p. 266, on the death of Muḥammad b. Abî al-Shawârib

his son ᶜAlî served as qâḍî of Manṣûrah until the visit of Masᶜûdî. His sole source for this information is Masᶜûdî's Murûj (1:377), which only states that there was a close relationship between the family of Abû al-Shwârib and the Habbârids.

253 Friedmann, "Islamic Learning," p. 663.

254 Yaᶜqûbî, Buldân, p. 238; Yâqût, 4:663; Abû al-Fidâ', pp. 350-51; Idrîsî, p. 42. To be sure, the tradition is not correct. Manṣûrah was built by ᶜAmr b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafî (122-26/739-43). See Balâdhurî, p. 444, and Yaᶜqûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:380.

255 See biographies nos. 33 and 40.

256 Hashimi, pp. 206-7, sees Arab Sind as a period when theology flourished and through "ethical training and the formation of character" enabled the Sindî Muslims to conquer "the hearts of the people." He bases this theory on Maqdisî who, he asserts, gives "the names of theologians and authors of note who belonged to Sindh." Maqdisî, however, does not name any theologians either in or from Sind, although he does indicate the absence of Muᶜtazilites in the region (p. 481).

257 Tanûkhî, 3:88-90. For Abû Hâshim al-Jubbâ'î see Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:434, and Shahrastânî, 1:78-84.

258 Not only does Maqdisî (p. 481) note the dearth of Muᶜtazilites in Sind, but inscriptions uncovered at Daybul contain refutations of certain Muᶜtazilite views (see above pp. 237-38). See Hodgson (pp. 386-92) for observations concerning the enmity between the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth and the Muᶜtazilites.

259 Hiuen Tsiang, 2:276.

CHAPTER V

ISMÂ^cÎLISM IN ARAB SIND

^cAlids and Shî^cites in pre-Ismâ^cîlî Sind. While it is often assumed that the relationship between Sind and Shî^cism commenced with the arrival of the Ismâ^cîlîs in the early fourth/tenth century, the connection between the region and ^cAlids, proto-Shî^cites, and Shî^cites can be traced back to the initial Muslim penetration. Al-Ḥakîm (variation, al-Ḥukaym) b. Jabalah al-^cAbdî, who raided Mukrân in the year 29/649,[1] was an early partisan of ^cAlî b. Abî Ṭâlib; accompanied by a number of Sindî Jats, he was killed fighting for ^cAlî's forces against al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥah, and ^cÂ'ishah at Baṣrah in 36/656.[2] It is possible that al-Ḥakîm had some Saba'îyah sympathies since ^cAbd Allâh b. Saba', the reputed founder of this early extremist Shî^cite sect, is said to have stayed at his home while visiting Baṣrah.[3] Another early partisan of ^cAlî, Ṣayfî b. Fasayl al-Shaybânî, participated in an Arab raid on the town of Qandâbîl (Ṭûrân), possibly with al-Ḥarîth b. Murrah al-^cAbdî (39-42/659-62).[4] Ṣayfî was one of the seven leaders who were beheaded after the collapse of the proto-Shî^cite revolt led by Ḥujr b. ^cAdî al-Kindî in Kûfah (50-52/670-72).[5]

At the time of the Thaqafite conquest, the well-known

Shî^c^ite traditionist ^c^Aṭîyah b. Sa^c^d b. Junâdah al-^c^Awfî (d. 111/729) fled to Sind after the failure of the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash^c^ath.[6] Al-Ḥajjâj asked Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim to seize ^c^Aṭîyah and demand that he curse ^c^Alî on threat of punishment. ^c^Aṭîyah refused and was beaten. Nevertheless, he did participate as an officer in the Thaqafite army during the conquest of Sind, at least during the initial stages.[7] However, none of these individuals could have been instrumental in communicating early Shî^c^ite partisanship to Sind or Mukrân since their presence in the region was both temporary and predatory in nature.

The prosopographical data for the post-conquest period does indicate a relatively early association between Sindî Muslims noted abroad and Shî^c^ism. Ten of the seventy Muslims bearing a Sind-related <u>nisbah</u> (14.3 percent of all individuals) were Shî^c^ites.[8] Significantly, they are noted in the literature in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries (i.e., before the arrival of the Ismâ^c^îlîs in Sind), with half of the group dying in the last half of the second/eighth century. Indeed, five of the thirteen Sindî Muslims dying abroad during this period were Shî^c^ites, the highest proportion of any half-century covered by the data.

The early partisanship displayed by Sindî Muslims abroad towards the Shî^c^ites, as shown in the biographical data, is also documented within Sind for the same period. In the initial excavation of the urban complex of Brahmanâbâd-Manṣûrah-Maḥfûẓah in 1854, A. F. Bellasis uncovered a seal bearing the Arabic inscription "Imâm al-Bâqir."[9] While not bearing a date, the reference

would appear to be to the fifth Shî^{c}ite Imâm Muḥammad al-Bâqir (d. ca. 114/732). This suggests the presence in Manṣûrah of an individual or a group supporting the Imâmate of al-Bâqir. Perhaps they belonged to the group later heresiographers have termed the Bâqirîyah who took the position that Muḥammad al-Bâqir had not died and awaited his return as the mahdî, "the guided one" (a kind of Messiah).[10] One is also reminded here of certain extremist Shî^{c}ite sects of the late Umayyad period--Manṣûrîyah, Bayânîyah, Mughîrîyah--whose founders claimed the Imâmate on behalf of al-Bâqir.[11]

However, the major pre-Ismâ^{c}îlî Shî^{c}ite movement within Sind was connected to the so-called Pure Soul Revolt conducted by the two Ḥasanid brothers, Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakîyah ("the Pure Soul") and Ibrâhîm b. ^{c}Abd Allâh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ^{c}Alî.[12] When the ^{c}Abbâsid caliph al-Manṣûr seized and imprisoned their father (140/757), Muḥammad and Ibrâhîm went into hiding, travelling throughout the Muslim world seeking support for their claims to the Imâmate. Around the year 144/761, the two brothers sailed from Aden to Sind where they consulted with the governor, ^{c}Umar b. Ḥafṣ Hazârmard al-Muhallabî (143-51/760-68), before returning to Kûfah and Medina.[13] Ibrâhîm and ^{c}Abd Allâh al-Ashtar, Muḥammad's son, both married women from Sind and had children by them, those of the latter becoming relatively well-known in the literature as the Ashtarîyah.[14]

Once they decided enough support had been amassed to revolt successfully (145/762), Muḥammad went to Medina, Ibrâhîm to Baṣrah, and ^{c}Abd Allâh al-Ashtar to Sind.[15] According to

Ṭabarî, Sind was selected since its governor, ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣ, supported Muḥammad's claim to the Imâmate.[16] Later sources go further, charging the Sindî governor with Shîᶜite inclinations.[17] It is quite likely that the two Ḥasanid brothers had reached an understanding with ᶜUmar during their previous encounter in Sind and that ᶜAbd Allâh al-Ashtar proceeded to Sind on that basis.[18] ᶜAbd Allâh was accompanied to Sind by a number of troops belonging to the Shîᶜite sect of the Zaydîyah.[19] This is the name given specifically to supporters of the ᶜAlid line of Zayd b. ᶜAlî (martyred 122/740), but generally to the active supporters of any ᶜAlid willing to take a militant stance in pursuit of the Imâmate.[20]

ᶜUmar b. Ḥafṣ initially welcomed ᶜAbd Allâh al-Ashtar and the Zaydîyah to Sind. Shortly thereafter, however, he received word from his wife in Baṣrah that ᶜAbd Allâh's father Muḥammad had been killed in Medina (14 Ramaḍân 145/6 December 762).[21] In consequence, ᶜUmar felt that their presence in the capital compromised his position as governor. Unwilling to take any definite action either for or against them, he summoned ᶜAbd Allâh and suggested:

> I have an idea: one of the princes of al-Sind has a mighty kingdom with numerous supporters. Despite his polytheism (shirk), he greatly honours [the family of] the Prophet of God, on whom be peace. He is a reliable man. I will write him and conclude an agreement between the two of you. You can then go to him, stay there, and you will not want anything.[22]

While Ṭabarî does not give us the name of this non-Muslim region of Sind, Abû al-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî (who preserves a tradition going back to ᶜÎsâ b. ᶜAbd Allâh b. Masᶜadah, a companion of ᶜAbd Allâh

al-Ashtar in Sind) refers to it as Qandahâr.[23] The location would appear to be confirmed by Ya^c^qûbî and Balâdhurî who note (without specifying ^c^Abd Allâh and the Zaydîyah) the conquest of Qandahâr by ^c^Umar's successor as governor of Sind, Hishâm b. ^c^Amr al-Taghlibî (151-57/768-73).[24] Since the conquest was undertaken by boats proceeding up the Indus River, the reference is clearly to Qandahâr in Upper Sind and not in Afghânistân.

^c^Abd Allâh al-Ashtar and the Zaydîyah went to Qandahâr and spent some years there, probably from 145/762 to 152/769, without interference. Eventually hearing of their presence in Upper Sind, the caliph al-Manṣûr replaced ^c^Umar b. Ḥafṣ with Hishâm b. ^c^Amr al-Taghlibî on the understanding that he seize ^c^Abd Allâh, kill or otherwise disperse the Zaydîyah, and annex the non-Muslim region.[25] When Hishâm, after reaching Sind, also proved loath to undertake the task, his brother Sufayḥ (later a governor of Sind) did it for him, killing ^c^Abd Allâh along with many of his companions and annexing Qandahâr.[26] According to the account preserved by Abû al-Faraj, ^c^Abd Allâh al-Ashtar's son Muḥammad remained in Upper Sind until the death of al-Manṣûr (158/775), and then went to Medina with his Sindî mother.[27]

The Sindî extension of the Pure Soul Revolt was relatively prolonged and widespread, especially in the northern regions of the province. The caliph al-Manṣûr had expressed earlier his concern to Hishâm that Sind was becoming a centre for the remnants of the Pure Soul Revolt after its defeat at Medina and Baṣrah.[28] His apprehension would appear to be well-founded. In addition to ^c^Abd Allâh al-Ashtar and the unnamed

Zaydîyah, one hears of the presence in Sind of another son of Muḥammad (ᶜAlî) and a son of Ibrâhîm (al-Ḥasan).[29] And, after the death of Ibrâhîm in Baṣrah, one of his major agents, Muḥriz al-Ḥanafî, is said to have fled to Sind.[30] Clearly, Sind was indeed a rallying place for important leaders of the revolt.

Moreover, while the revolt of Muḥammad in Medina and his brother Ibrâhîm in Baṣrah had been put down in a matter of months, ᶜAbd Allâh and the Zaydîyah were able to hold out in Upper Sind for at least seven years. Yaᶜqûbî and Balâdhurî refer to revolts (without indicating their content) occurring throughout Upper Sind during this period: in addition to Qandahâr, the centre of the Zaydîyah, Hishâm b. ᶜAmr was obliged to subdue the rebellious cities of Multân and Qandâbîl.[31] If these events are also linked to the activities of ᶜAbd Allâh and the Zaydîyah, as seems likely, then the revolt extended widely over the various regions of Upper Sind.

Very little is known about the course of Shîᶜism within Sind during the period between the dispersal of the Pure Soul Revolt and the rise of the Ismâᶜîlîs in the fourth/tenth century. When the historian and geographer Masᶜûdî travelled to Sind in the year 303/915, he found a number of ᶜAlids there, descendants of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAlî and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafîyah.[32] There is some confirmation of this astute historian's observations in the genealogical records. Ibn ᶜInabah (d. 828/1424), drawing from lost sources in his <u>ᶜUmdat al-ṭâlib fî-ansâb âl Abî Ṭâlib</u>, notes that a leader of the militant Kaysânîyah (those

Shî^cites recognizing the Imâmate of the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafîyah), Ja^cfar b. Isḥâq b. ^cAbd Allâh b. Ja^cfar b. ^cAbd Allâh b. Ja^cfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafîyah, was executed in the city of Multân, probably in the first half of the third/ninth century.[33] The execution was ordered by an individual named ^cAbd Allâh b. ^cAbd al-Ḥamîd b. Ja^cfar al-^cUmarî, a descendant of ^cUmar b. ^cAlî b. Abî Ṭâlib.[34]

^cAbd Allâh al-^cUmarî was presumably a grandson of Ja^cfar b. Muḥammad b. ^cAbd Allâh b. Muḥammad b. ^cUmar b. ^cAlî b. Abî Ṭâlib who, according to Ibn ^cInabah, revolted in the Ḥijâz, probably in the last quarter of the second/eighth century, and fled with a number of his partisans to Sind where he took up residence in Multân.[35] One of his brothers, al-Qâsim known as Ibn Habîbah, propagandized (da^câ) on his own behalf in Ṭâliqân (Jûzjân), while another, ^cUmar al-Mîkhûrânî, fled to Balkh where he was the ancestor of a group called the Mîkhûrânîyah (a number of whom later immigrated to India).[36] Ja^cfar's own numerous descendants resided in the region of Multân where they acculturated to the extent that they adopted the native language and eventually converted to Ismâ^cîlism.[37]

While the standard historical and geographical sources on Arab Sind have nothing to say of this important ^cUmarî ^cAlid family of Multân, one cannot reject Ibn ^cInabah's account out of hand. For various parts of his genealogy, he has drawn on the work of Abû al-Ḥasan ^cAlî b. Muḥammad al-^cUmarî (d. 443/1051) who was, like the Multânîs, an ^cUmarî ^cAlid and hence may have had access to family archives not otherwise available.[38] Further,

the poet Abû Dulaf Mis^{c}ar b. Muhalhil al-Yanbu^{c}î, who was reportedly dispatched on a mission to India around 331/942, notes that the ruler of Multân was a descendant of ^{c}Umar b. ^{c}Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib.[39] Since the Arab geographers are unanimous in naming the Sâmids (a branch of the Quraysh) governors of Multân during this period,[40] perhaps the ^{c}Umarî ^{c}Alids were quasi-independent in a sector of the province of Multân. Ibn ^{c}Inabah's observation that they had adopted the indigenous language of the region of Multân points towards their occupying a position in the less Arabized countryside.

<u>The early Ismâ^{c}îlî da^{c}wah ("mission") in Sind</u>. There are scattered, although problematic, references to Sind as an area of concern to the nascent Ismâ^{c}îlî <u>da^{c}wah</u> from the time of the so-called "period of concealment" (<u>dawr al-satr</u>).[41] According to the <u>Dastûr al-munajjimîn</u>, an anonymous Fâṭimid astronomical text, Muḥammad b. Ismâ^{c}îl himself fled with his six sons from the caliph Hârûn al-Rashîd (170-93/786-809) and took refuge in some area of what is termed Hind.[42] The Persian historian Rashîd al-Dîn Faḍl Allâh (eighth/fourteenth century) has preserved another tradition that Muḥammad b. Ismâ^{c}îl had several unnamed sons in concealment:

> They established themselves in Khurâsân and the frontier region of Qandahâr, in Sind territory, whence their propagandists attacked the cities and persuaded men to their cause by the method of [promising each] the object he desired, until a great number had yielded to their persuasions.[43]

There are, however, some difficulties with accepting

the historicity of Rashîd al-Dîn's report, at least for establishing the earliest appearance of the Ismâᶜîlî daᶜwah within Sind.[44] As Stern has pointed out, there is a considerable amount of confusion in Rashîd al-Dîn's account of the Ismâᶜîlîs.[45] The appearance of the place name Qandahâr suggests the possibility that Rashîd al-Dîn or his source may have confused the account of the alleged sons of Muḥammad b. Ismâᶜîl with the previously mentioned revolt undertaken by ᶜAbd Allâh al-Ashtar, the son of Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allâh, also at Qandahâr. Alternatively, the report may simply reflect later Ismâᶜîlî agitation in Upper Sind, legitimized with reference to the movements of Muḥammad b. Ismâᶜîl and his sons during the period of concealment. That is, it could signify an attempt by the Ismâᶜîlîs to establish a continuity between the earlier quasi-legendary and the later more strictly historical daᶜwah within Sind.[46]

Whatever the case of the period of concealment, it is clear that Sind was an important region in the earliest phases of the historical daᶜwah. The various movements later known as Ismâᶜîlî became active in the last half of the third/ninth century in widely scattered areas of the Muslim world. Ḥamdân Qarmaṭ, from whom the Qarâmiṭah were to take their name, became an Ismâᶜîlî before the year 260/873 and built up a vigorous movement in the southern regions of ᶜIrâq.[47] An Ismâᶜîlî centre was established in Yaman by the well-known dâᶜî ("missioner" or "summoner") Abû al-Qâsim b. Ḥawshab Manṣûr al-Yaman around the year 270/883.[48] It was this centre in Yaman which was responsible for the initial Ismâᶜîlî attempt at the proselyt-

ization of Sind. In the same year as his political success in Yaman, Manṣûr dispatched his nephew al-Haytham as <u>dâᶜî</u> to Sind.[49] The renowned Fâṭimid <u>qâḍî</u> al-Nuᶜmân b. Muḥammad, who records the event in his <u>Risâlat iftitâḥ al-daᶜwah</u> (written ca. 346/957), notes that al-Haytham converted many of the inhabitants of the region and that the <u>daᶜwah</u> was still active at the time of his writing.[50] Unfortunately, nothing more is known of this early <u>daᶜwah</u> in Sind.[51] Since al-Haytham was closely related to and had been sent by Manṣûr al-Yaman, it is probable that he and the <u>daᶜwah</u> in Sind followed Manṣûr's lead in remaining loyal to the Fâṭimid ᶜUbayd Allâh al-Mahdî in the Qarmaṭî schism following 286/899.[52]

There is no further reference to the Ismâᶜîlî <u>daᶜwah</u> in Sind until the reign of the Fâṭimid caliph al-Muᶜizz (341-65/953-75). At this time, there was an extremely effective <u>dâᶜî</u> in the Multân region whose activities excited a considerable controversy. Al-Nuᶜmân b. Muḥammad, the chief <u>qâḍî</u> of al-Muᶜizz, has preserved a detailed account of the dispute, as seen from the perspective of the Fâṭimid court.[53] A certain unnamed <u>dâᶜî</u>, active in Multân from around 330/941 to his death in 348/959, had succeeded in converting one of the princes of the region (probably an ᶜUmarî ᶜAlid) and, more importantly for the ensuing debate, a large number of non-Muslims. This latter group are termed <u>majûs</u> (Zoroastrians) by al-Nuᶜmân, which has led to some confusion.[54] Abbas Hamdani believes that Multân was inhabited by both Buddhists and Zoroastrians (not Hindus), and that it was the latter group which converted to Ismâᶜîlism.[55]

S. M. Stern notes but rejects Foucher's view that there were maga-brâhmaṇas at Multân and suggests that the term majûs "is probably a vague denomination for Hindus."[56] While Stern is surely correct that the term refers to Hindus and not Zoroastrians, he is a bit too hasty in rejecting the majûs affiliations of Multân. As noted earlier, there is a clear precedent in the Indic sources to associate the sun-temple of Multân with the maga-brâhmaṇas who are said to have introduced heliolatry into Hinduism.[57]

The Sindî dâᶜî was accused at the court of al-Muᶜizz of heresy. According to the Majâlis, the primary charge was that he had introduced

> . . . a reprehensible innovation. He won a great number of Zoroastrians (majûs) for the daᶜwa, while they were still keeping their religion and had not previously become Muslims. He allowed them to follow their earlier practices, taking no notice of those prohibitions of God that did not exist in their former religion.[58]

That is, and this is the view of the converts from Islam,[59] the dâᶜî had incompletely Ismâᶜîlized the converts from Hinduism. In particular, so the charge went, he had permitted them to retain within Ismâᶜîlism certain indigenous Hindu practices in matrimonial and dietary laws.[60]

What then was the heresy of the Sindî dâᶜî? The Majâlis implies that it was a form of syncretism, and modern scholars generally have accepted this view.[61] However, there are some indications that the heresy was related to certain unorthodox views held by the dâᶜî concerning the Fâṭimid claims to the Imâmate. The Yamanî dâᶜî ᶜImâd al-Dîn Idrîs (d. 872/1467) has

preserved a long letter (sijill) from al-Mu^c^izz to Jalam b. Shaybân, the heretical dâ^c^î's replacement, in which are answered "certain questions concerning the restoration of religion and the abolition of the changes introduced by the wicked dâ^c^î, who had wandered upon the path of transgressors."[62] In the sijill, the heresy of the Sindî dâ^c^î is cited and refuted:

> As to the confusion of those people [heterodox Sindîs] and their perplexities, about which you write in your questions, viz. what they say about the seven Lieutenants (khulafâ'), and about their number being completed with the seventh among them: their doctrine is one of 'limitation' (tawqît), similar to the doctrine which we have mentioned before. I mean to say, that as they professed 'limitation' in the case of Muḥammad b. Ismâ^c^îl, and he died, and they developed their doctrine about him, they asserted that he had appointed as his lieutenant someone who was not one of his sons and that this lieutenant appointed after himself another lieutenant, till they reached the number seven. They asserted that the first of them was ^c^Abd Allâh b. Maymûn al-Qaddâḥ. They did all that in order to support their doctrine that there is no Imâm after him (scil. Muḥammad b. Ismâ^c^îl), and that the person whom he has appointed as his lieutenant was one of the common people. They sever what God ordered to be joined and contradict the word of God (Qur'ân XLIII, 27): 'And he appointed it to be a lasting word among his posterity'.[63]

The refutation suggests that the heretical dâ^c^î and his Sindî supporters accepted a doctrine of the limitation (tawqît) of the Imâmate. They alleged that there were only seven Imâms, the last of these was Muḥammad b. Ismâ^c^îl, and the Imâmate actually ended with his death. He will return, however, as the qâ'im ("Messiah"), until which time there could be no Imâms, only caliphs ("successors" or "vicegerents"), the first of which was ^c^Abd Allâh b. Maymûn al-Qaddâḥ, and the last of which would be the seventh. As Stern has pointed out, the implication inherent in this view of the Imâmate is that the Fâṭimids are

simply caliphs not Imâms and, moreover, that al-Mu^{c}izz himself is the seventh successor after ^{c}Abd Allâh al-Qaddâḥ and hence the last.[64] In short, the qâ'im, the Messiah, will reappear during the reign of al-Mu^{c}izz.

The view that the Imâmate ended with Muḥammad b. Ismâ^{c}îl struck directly at the claims of al-Mu^{c}izz and the Fâṭimids of being direct descendants of Muḥammad b. Ismâ^{c}îl and the sole line of legitimate Ismâ^{c}îlî Imâms.[65] Moreover, since al-Mu^{c}izz was perceived as being the seventh successor, in whose reign the Messiah would reappear, the dâ^{c}î's position opened up the possibility of an ^{c}Alid revolt based upon rival claims to the Ismâ^{c}îlî Imâmate. Such a theory would be unwelcome, even dangerous, and al-Mu^{c}izz clearly would have been unable to accept it. Hence, while the public attack on the Sindî dâ^{c}î may have been related to his latitudinarian policy toward the Hindu converts, it is more likely his deviant theory of the Imâmate which constituted his primary heresy, at least from the perspective of the Fâṭimid court.

Al-Mu^{c}izz responded to these events in Sind very quickly. Although he was not able to take direct action against the dâ^{c}î due to the latter's strong support within Sind, he did attempt indirectly to undermine the dâ^{c}î's position while appearing formally to accept him. However, the Sindî dâ^{c}î died in a riding accident shortly thereafter, and no further action was necessary.[66]

The Ismâᶜîlî state at Multân. While the anonymous heretical dâᶜî was responsible in many ways for the support given Ismâᶜîlism by a portion of the population of the province of Multân, it was his successor as dâᶜi, Jalam (variation, Ḥalam) b. Shaybân, who established Fâṭimid rule in the province.[67] Through his actions, the khuṭbah, the symbol of allegiance, was transferred from the ᶜAbbâsids to the Fâṭimids, and Ismâᶜîlism became the official state religion of Multân.[68] The date of Jalam's success in Multân can be established with some certainty. The previously mentioned sijill from al-Muᶜizz, written after the conquest of Multân, bears the date 354/965.[69] In this letter, al-Muᶜizz told Jalam:

> Referring to what you have written: that God has granted you a victory over those who had attacked you and wanted to oust you from your place; that terrible battles have been fought between you, till God gave you the victory, by His help and assistance and you exterminated them completely; that you destroyed their idol and built a mosque on its site--what a great favour, what manifest and palpable excellence and lasting glory is that from God! We would be very much pleased if you could send us the head of that idol; it would accrue to your lasting glory and would inspire your brethren at our end to increase their zeal and their desire to unite with you in a common effort in the cause of God.[70]

There are two controversial matters covered in this letter which require elucidation: who was the ruler of Multân who was defeated by Jalam, and what was the temple which was rebuilt into a mosque?

The first question concerns the relationship between the Ismâᶜîlî dâᶜîs and the ruling house of Multân. At the time of Jalam b. Shaybân's victory, Multân was governed by unnamed descendants of al-Munabbih b. Asad al-Qurashî who read the khuṭbah for the ᶜAbbâsids.[71] Members of this hereditary and independent

dynasty belonged to the tribe of Sâmah b. Lu'ayy b. Ghâlib, a branch of the Quraysh.[72] It generally is thought that the anonymous ruler defeated by Jalam was the Sâmid amîr of Multân and, moreover, that the subsequent dâᶜîs (who are thought to have been direct descendants of Jalam) replaced the Sâmids as the hereditary rulers of Multân.[73] That is, it is assumed that the dâᶜîs of Multân combined hereditary religious and secular authority in their person throughout the period of Fâṭimid rule.

This view of Fâṭimid Multân is contravened by the evidence. The Ḥudûd al-ᶜâlam, written 372/982, notes that the khuṭbah was read at Multân for the Fâṭimids (bar maghribî) by the governor, "a Quraishite from the descendants of Sâm."[74] The reference is clearly to a descendant of Sâmah b. Lu'ayy ruling on behalf of the Fâṭimids. Moreover, Jurbâdhqânî, translating the Arabic Ta'rîkh al-Yamînî into Persian in the year 603/1206, gives the name of the Ismâᶜîlî governor (wâlî) of Multân at the time of the Ghaznavid conquest as Abû al-Fatḥ Lôdî, surely a copyist's error for Lu'ayy.[75]

The victory which is referred to in the letter of al-Muᶜizz, if it is military and not spiritual, would have been over a Sâmid who survived the defeat by converting, or else over other elements in the province. After the conquest, the governorship would appear to have remained in the hands of the Sâmids, under the spiritual authority of the dâᶜîs. It is difficult, however, to discern the precise relationship between the amîrs and the dâᶜîs of Multân. In any case, the Fâṭimid Imâms kept a relatively tight rein on the political authority

of the Multân governorship. According to Maqdisî, an eye-witness, treaties were sent from Multân to the Fâṭimid court in Egypt for ratification.[76]

The previously cited passage of the sijill of al-Muᶜizz extols Jalam for having destroyed an idol and transformed its temple into a mosque. It seems likely that the reference is to the sun-temple of Multân, the most prominent non-Muslim site in Upper Sind, and, indeed, Bîrûnî (d. after 442/1050) makes the connection explicit.[77] As a result, there would appear to be little doubt that the idol of the sun-temple was destroyed before 354/965 (the date of the sijill) and the temple itself transformed into a mosque. This is the view generally accepted by modern historians.[78]

The problem occurs when subsequent Muslim geographers refer to both the sun-temple of Multân and its idol as being in existence after 354/965. The Ḥudûd al-ᶜâlam of 372/982 briefly notes the famous idol and temple in Fâṭimid Multân and the large number of pilgrims from India visiting it.[79] More importantly, the pro-Fâṭimid geographer Maqdisî, who actually visited Multân around the year 375/985, refers to the idol and temple as being in use at the time, giving a detailed description which parallels the accounts of earlier geographers.[80] It is possible that Maqdisî's information here is simply a reiteration of the text of Iṣṭakhrî, a source he had on hand throughout his travels.[81] However, while describing the city of Multân, he does not simply paraphrase Iṣṭakhrî, but mentions

(although briefly) the contemporary Shî^cite practices of its inhabitants, notably in the call to prayer, and the Fâṭimid affiliations of its rulers and society.[82] In any case, if the sun-temple had been recently transformed into an Ismâ^cîlî mosque, surely Maqdisî would have recorded the information. As a result, it is necessary to conclude that the sun-temple and idol of Multân were still in existence in 375/985.

Several attempts have been made to reconcile these conflicting accounts. Abbas Hamdani, accepting the historicity of both Maqdisî and the sijill, surmises that Jalam b. Shaybân destroyed the idol the year after Maqdisî visited Multân.[83] However, the sijill referring to these events bears the date 354/965; hence, if the letter is historical, and there is no reason to doubt it, the event described must have occurred shortly before this date. The letter of 354/965 cannot be used as evidence for the destruction of the idol in 376/986. A. Nabi Khan has suggested that the temple was destroyed in 354/965 and that the local Hindus had rebuilt it by the time Maqdisî arrived some twenty years later.[84] This is possible, of course, but highly unlikely. The temple referred to in the sijill, it should be noted, was not simply destroyed; it was transformed into the main Ismâ^cîlî mosque of Multân.[85] It is simply inconceivable that Jalam or his immediate successors as dâ^cîs would have permitted such a crucial Ismâ^cîlî site to be reconverted into a Hindu temple. It could be argued that the Hindu community built another sun-temple elsewhere in Multân, but Maqdisî locates the temple in the middle of the marketplace,

the same site noted in pre-Ismâ^c^îlî sources.[86]

Perhaps the controversy should be seen in the light of the alleged heresy of the previous dâ^c^î of Multân. While the primary reason for al-Mu^c^izz's displeasure with the dâ^c^î was the latter's espousal of a theory of the Imâmate which challenged Fâṭimid claims, the ostensible public rationale was the Hinduization of the da^c^wah in Sind. Jalam b. Shaybân, the new dâ^c^î who was the recipient of the sijill, would thus be portrayed as contrasting radically with the previous dâ^c^î in his treatment of public Hindu artifacts such as temples and idols. As a result, the emphasis on Jalam's idol-breaking function as dâ^c^î, apparent in the sijill, may well have fulfilled a propagandist purpose for the Fâṭimids and not been representative of actual events occurring in Multân. On the other hand, if the events described by the sijill and by Maqdisî are both strictly historical, then one would have to conclude that the temple of the sijill was not the famous sun-temple of Multân and that the idol whose head was forwarded to al-Mu^c^izz was only one of many such idols in Upper Sind.

In any case, it is clear that the Ismâ^c^îlîs of Multân did not pursue a policy of temple destruction. The Ḥudûd al-^c^âlam, in describing Fâṭimid Multân, mentions not only the many pilgrims from India visiting its main temple, but also the existence of large and prosperous Hindu temples in other regions of the province.[87] As far as the sun-temple of Multân is concerned, it was certainly destroyed at some time before Bîrûnî (d. after 442/1050), perhaps in the widespread ruin and

desolation of the city which accompanied the Ghaznavid conquest.[88]

<u>The Ghaznavid conquest</u>. The Ismâᶜîlî state of Multân was not to survive for very long. Within a year of his accession in 366/976, Nâṣir al-Dawlah Sebüktigin, the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, had invaded the region of Sind called Ṭûrân and made the ruler of its capital Quṣdâr tributary.[89] In the same year, Sebüktigin forced Jaypâl, the Hindûshâhî ruler, from the Kâbul-Lâmghân region and, after a series of altercations, succeeded in annexing Hindûshâhî territory up to Peshawar.[90] In Mukrân, the Maᶜdânids transferred their allegiance from the Bûyids to Sebüktigin and, later, to his son Maḥmûd Ghaznavî.[91] As a result of these manoeuvres, shortly after constituting a state tributary to the Fâṭimids, the Ismâᶜîlîs of Multân found themselves increasingly isolated, with the Ghaznavids moving in on the northwest, west, and southwest.

This threat to Ismâᶜîlî Multân intensified with the accession of the expansionist and strongly Sunnite Sulṭân Yamîn al-Dawlah Maḥmûd in 388/998. After first securing the western frontier, Maḥmûd turned his attention to India and, in 392/1001, defeated the Hindûshâhî forces of Jaypâl near Peshawar, temporarily occupying their capital at Wayhind.[92] Maḥmûd again invaded India in 395/1004 and, passing through Wâlishtân in Ṭûrân and fording the Indus River in the vicinity of Multân, went on to conquer the adjacent region of Bhâṭîyah.[93] The appearance of a strong Ghaznavid army in the neighbourhood of Multân and the defeat of the Hindu ruler of Bhâṭîyah, once an integral part

of Arab Sind, must have been portentous for the Ismâᶜîlîs of Multân. Shortly thereafter, the governor of Multân, Abû al-Futûḥ (variation, Abû al-Fatḥ) Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr,[94] entered into a defense alliance with Anandpâl b. Jaypâl (who had succeeded his father over the Hindûshâhîs), probably in conjunction with other Indian dynasties of the northwest.[95]

The alliance was tested the next year (396/1005) when Maḥmûd decided to invade and annex the state of Multân.[96] According to the sources, the casus belli of the Ghaznavid invasion was the alleged apostasy (ilḥâd) of the Ismâᶜîlîs of the region which Maḥmûd wished to eradicate.[97] Be this as it may, there were certainly other compelling motivations leading the Ghaznavids to Multân. For one thing, the annexation of this Fâṭimid enclave would illustrate vividly Maḥmûd's commitment to the anti-Fâṭimid and anti-Ismâᶜîlî Sunnism of the ᶜAbbâsid caliphate.[98] Through his actions in Multân, Maḥmûd could emphasize (vis-à-vis the Shîᶜite Daylamites) his role as the primary defender of Sunnite orthodoxy within the ᶜAbbâsid empire, a basis for the legitimization of Ghaznavid rule. On more practical grounds, the annexation of the province of Multân would provide capital for the continuance of Ghaznavid campaigns elsewhere and, moreover, strike a blow against a weak link in the Hindûshâhî alliance, thus preparing the way for further advances into India.

The Hindûshâhî ruler attempted to fulfill his obligations by blocking the Sulṭân's advance on Multân at Peshawar, but his forces were defeated.[99] Realizing the futility of immediate

resistance and wishing to prolong the life of the <u>da^c^wah</u> in Sind, Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr removed himself and the state treasury from Multân.[100] The Ismâ^c^îlî forces in the city managed to repel the Ghaznavid army for a week, but then were compelled to surrender.[101] The terms of their capitulation required the payment of an indemnity of twenty million dirhams (Ibn al-Athîr reports, more realistically, twenty thousand).[102] Multân remained semi-independent, however, for four more years. In 401/1010, Maḥmûd returned and, extinguishing what Ismâ^c^îlî resistance remained, annexed the city and province into the Ghaznavid empire.[103]

According to Gardîzî (d. after 444/1052), it was the second Ghaznavid invasion which resulted in the decimation of the Multânî Ismâ^c^îlîs: Maḥmûd seized the majority, killing some, cutting off the hands of others, and imprisoning the remainder in isolated forts.[104] Another contemporary, Ibn Ṭâhir al-Baghdâdî (d. 429/1037), refers to thousands of Ismâ^c^îlîs being killed or mutilated at Multân.[105] Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr himself was captured during the final conquest and died in prison not long thereafter.[106] The main Ismâ^c^îlî mosque at Multân was abandoned and, at the time of Bîrûnî (d. after 442/1050), was being used for the storage of henna.[107]

It is difficult to reconstruct the history of Habbârid Lower Sind during this period. When Maqdisî visited the city of Manṣûrah around 375/985, he noted the close relationship between the Bûyids and the Habbârids (whose envoy he met at Shîrâz), although the latter read the <u>khuṭbah</u> independently

for the ᶜAbbâsids.[108] Mumtaz Pathan has perceived this diplomatic relationship with the Bûyids as an indication of "Fâtimid influence" at Manṣûrah, but this is highly unlikely.[109] After Maqdisî, there is no further mention of Habbârid Sind until 416/1026, about fifteen years after the conquest of Multân, when Maḥmûd Ghaznavî annexed Manṣûrah and Lower Sind, almost as an afterthought on his return from the famous raid on Somnâth.[110] The name of the ruler of Manṣûrah would appear to have been Khafîf, as recorded by Maḥmûd's court poet Farrukhî (d. 429/1037).[111] Whatever his name, the ruler of Lower Sind at the time was surely a Habbârid.[112] But was he an Ismâᶜîlî? Ibn al-Athîr (followed here by Ibn Khaldûn) preserves a tradition that Maḥmûd conquered Manṣûrah because its ruler had apostatized from Islâm.[113] The implication is that the Habbârid ruler had converted to Ismâᶜîlism, and most recent historians have so concluded, usually dating this conversion after the Ghaznavid conquest of Multân (401/1010) when, it is assumed, the Ismâᶜîlîs transferred their daᶜwah to Habbârid Lower Sind.[114]

However, it is difficult to accept the premise that the last Habbârid ruler converted to Ismâᶜîlism. While the so-called apostasy of the Ismâᶜîlîs of Multân is frequently noted by the contemporary sources, in sharp contrast not one refers to the apostasy of the ruler of Manṣûrah.[115] If the Habbârids had become Ismâᶜîlî by the time of the Ghaznavid conquest, surely Maḥmûd's chroniclers would have recorded and extolled their extinction, as earlier at Multân. It seems legitimate, therefore, to conclude that Ibn al-Athîr, writing some two hundred

years after these events, simply confounded the situation at Manṣûrah with that earlier at Multân. Alternatively, if the report is accepted, it is possible that it reflects later Ghaznavid justification for the conquest of what was, after all, an ᶜAbbâsid province. In any case, it is clear that, at least during the Arab period, the Ismâᶜîlîs were successful primarily in Upper not Lower Sind.

Survivals of Ismâᶜîlism in Sind. While the fall of Arab Sind, both Ismâᶜîlî and Habbârid, brings our topic to a close, something should be said about the subsequent course of Ismâᶜîlism in the region. The scripture of the Druze schism of Ismâᶜîlism has preserved an epistle, dated in the seventeenth Druze year (i.e., 425/1033), written by an early leader of the community, Bahâ' al-Dîn al-Muqtanâ to a certain shaykh (i.e., a leader of the initiated, ᶜuqqâl) Râjabâl b. Sûmar, head of the Unitarians (i.e., the Druze) of Multân.[116] In this letter, al-Muqtanâ asks:

> O venerable Râjabâl, alert your people (qawm), the Unitarians (muwaḥḥidûn), and entreat Dâ'ûd the Younger, whom Masᶜûd has released from prison and internment, so that you might fulfill your duty against his nephew ᶜAbd Allâh and all the people of al-Mûltân [sic], and thereby separate the people of consecration, unity, and certainty from the party of error, controversy, iniquity, and oppression.[117]

It is clear from the letter that the Ismâᶜîlî community of Multân was in considerable disarray following the Ghaznavid conquest and the subsequent imprisonment and death of Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr and many other prominent members of the daᶜwah. The remnants of the daᶜwah in Multân had split, forming a Druze faction headed by Râjabâl[118] and a loyalist Fâṭimid faction headed by

ᶜAbd Allâh, the son of Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr's brother Layth.[119] Dâ'ûd al-Aṣghar ("the Younger"), surely the son of Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr, had just been released from prison by the Ghaznavid Sulṭân Masᶜûd (421-32/1031-41), and the Druze letter refers to the attempts made by each faction to obtain Dâ'ûd al-Aṣghar's support. It is not known how Dâ'ûd received the Druze appeal or if, indeed, it was ever communicated. Nothing more is heard of the Druze in Sind, and, in any case, the door to conversion for this sect closed shortly thereafter (435/1043). Dâ'ûd al-Aṣghar, however, did remain an Ismâᶜîlî and, after the death of Masᶜûd in 432/1041, organized his community in Multân in a rebellion, albeit unsuccessful.[120] The fortunes of the Multânî Ismâᶜîlîs declined in subsequent years, although they still retained sufficient support to raise a revolt in 571/1175 against the Ghûrid Sulṭân Muᶜizz al-Dîn Muḥammad.[121]

It is quite likely that Shaykh Râjabâl b. Sûmar of the Druze epistle of 425/1033 belonged to the Sûmrah caste which founded the dynasty of the same name around the year 445/1053.[122] He could even be the Sûmrah who was the legendary founder of the dynasty.[123] If this is the case, then perhaps some of the early Sûmrah rulers (the dynasty survived semi-independently until 752/1351) had Ismâᶜîlî affiliations or inclinations. Unfortunately, very little is known of this obscure dynasty. It should be noted, however, that those contemporary sources which do refer to them do not charge them with being Ismâᶜîlî.[124] Hence, it is necessary to remain cautious before assigning to this dynasty, as is customary, an intermediary role between the

earlier and later da^c^wah in India.[125]

Finally, while beyond the scope of this study, it should be noted that, after the schism of 487/1094, the Nizârî form of Ismâ^c^îlism (but not the Ṭayyibî) was represented in Sind from whence it was introduced into other parts of the Indian subcontinent, particularly neighbouring Gujarat where it flourished.[126] The first non-legendary Nizârî dâ^c^î figuring in the Indian tradition is Pîr Shams al-Dîn who travelled from Persia, probably in the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century, to the city of Ûchh, south of Multân.[127] Indeed, Ûchh, where a number of the early Nizârî pîrs are buried, formed the primary centre of the Nizârî da^c^wah for several centuries.[128] The Khojah (khwâjah) community, of so much importance to later Nizârî Ismâ^c^îlism in India, are said to have been converted in Sind by Pîr Ṣadr al-Dîn in the eighth/fourteenth century.[129] They originally belonged to the well-known Sindî caste of Lohânah.[130] Moreover, many of the early ginâns, hymns which communicate the Nizârî tradition, are written in archaic Sindî.[131] The possibility of continuities between the earlier Fâṭimid and the later Nizârî da^c^wah will be explored later in this chapter when the issue of the embedment of the tradition is discussed.

Ismâ^c^îlism and the Islamic environment. As noted in the preceding chapter, the death-dates of traditionists bearing nisbahs related to Sind register a gradual increase after the Arab conquest, peaking in the middle of the third/ninth century.[132]

Thereafter, one can observe a steady decline in the incidence of such nisbahs, accelerating in the course of the fourth/tenth century and practically disappearing in the fifth/eleventh century when only three traditionists are noted. Subsequently, there is a hiatus of several centuries before a similar quantity of Sindî traditionists is again observed in the literature.[133]

Modern historians studying the biographical data for Sind have been aware of the decline in the number of traditionists and generally have attempted to find an explanation for this phenomenon by positing an Ismâ^cîlî animus toward the study of tradition.[134] In brief, it is argued that a golden age of ḥadîth studies existed in Sind under the independent Habbârid and Sâmid dynasties during the first half of the fourth/tenth century and that this was curtailed by the direct action of the Ismâ^cîlîs once they had come to power in Multân during the latter half of the same century. Muhammad Ishaq, who has given the most detailed cause and effect argument, perceives that the Ismâ^cîlîs were "bent on destroying not only the structure of the states of the Sunnîs, but also their religion and culture," and hence concludes that in Sind "the study of Ḥadîth, the fountain-head of the religious laws of the Sunnîs, received a great setback."[135] He isolates the closing down of the Sunnî madrasahs by the Ismâ^cîlî "fanatics" as a particularly crucial development, forcing Sindî traditionists to choose between suspending their studies in Sind or emigrating elsewhere.[136] In his view, traditionism was unable to recover after the conquest of Sind by the Sunnî Ghaznavids since Maḥmûd died before he was

able to "effect a wholesale extermination from the country of the Shî^cites."[137] As a result of these factors, the study of hadîth in Sind never was able to develop the potential that was evident earlier in the Arab period.

Like the arguments concerning the nature of conversion in Sind which, we have seen, issued from a reified perception of the nature of Islam, Ishaq's position here is derived from his perception of Ismâ^cîlism as a religion which necessarily compels its believers to destroy important Sunnî institutions such as the study of hadîth. If one accepts this view of Ismâ^cîlism, then it follows that to prove the assertion that traditionism died out in Sind due to Ismâ^cîlî actions, one must prove simply that the Ismâ^cîlîs came to power in Sind. As in the arguments over conversion, there is little attempt to relate conclusions to actual data. For example Ishaq suggests that the Ismâ^cîlîs would "perpetrate their acts of vandalism on the educational institutions of al-Manṣûra and Debal,"[138] but nowhere does he adduce evidence that in fact the Ismâ^cîlîs did destroy these institutions. The argument proceeds from the assumption that this is something Ismâ^cîlîs would do if they were able.

It is difficult, however, to accept the cogency of an argument based solely on a perception of Ismâ^cîlism as being necessarily hostile to the Sunnî religious sciences as an explanation for the decline in the incidence of Sindî tradition-ists. What is known of the Fâṭimid Ismâ^cîlîs elsewhere does not intimate a radical aversion toward the study of tradition.[139]

While the religious policy of the Fâṭimids varied in circumstances and with particular caliphs, the general attitude toward the Sunnî Muslims as well as other religious groups was relatively restrained.[140]

In any case, there was no golden age in the study of tradition coeval with Habbârid and Sâmid rule in Sind which the Ismâᶜîlîs could have destroyed. The death-dates of traditionists bearing a nisbah related to Sind peaked in the middle of the third/ninth century and actually retrogressed during the subsequent Habbârid and Sâmid period.[141] The Ismâᶜîlîs, who came to power in Multân around 354/965, could not have been the single or even the most important cause of the decline in ḥadîth studies simply because the downturn already is evident from an earlier period. They may have acclerated the trend, it is true, but it should be noted that Sindî traditionists disappear in the literature after the conquest by the Sunnî Ghaznavids in the fifth/eleventh century.[142]

Nor did the Ismâᶜîlîs have authority over those areas of Sind which produced traditionists. Apart from the generic al-Sindî, the local nisbahs carried by traditionists from the area are al-Daybulî, al-Manṣûrî (both in Lower Sind), and al-Quṣdârî (in Ṭûrân).[143] There is not one traditionist with a Multânî nisbah whose name has survived in the literature. While the Ismâᶜîlîs did govern Multân for almost fifty years, if they ever controlled Lower Sind (and, as previously noted, it is doubtful), it would have been for only a few years prior to the Ghaznavid annexation in 416/1025. That is, the Ismâᶜîlîs

could not have been the main cause of the decline in the study of tradition in those places for which there is evidence of its study, simply because they had little or no direct impact on these areas.

Accordingly, it is necessary to reject the simple cause and effect argument of Ismâᶜîlî hostility toward the Sunnî religious sciences as the explanation for the decline in the incidence of Sindî traditionists noted in the biographical literature. If an explanation is to be located, it is reasonable to suggest, then it should be sought at the onset of the actual downturn in nisbahs--i.e., the last half of the third/ninth century. There is some evidence of a relationship between events then occurring in Sind and the absence of Sindî traditionists abroad.

The downswing of the curve of death-dates for traditionists bearing Sind-related nisbahs begins at the same time as the breakdown of ᶜAbbâsid authority in the region during the last half of the third/ninth century. During this period, previously united Arab Sind was fragmented into two major ruling dynasties (the Habbârids at Manṣûrah and the Sâmids at Multân) and at least four minor dynasties in the regions of Mukrân and Ṭûrân.[144] In sharp contrast to the previous governors of Umayyad and ᶜAbbâsid Sind, the names and dates of these rulers can be restored only partly and even then with great difficulty.[145] It is apparent that, after its separation from the direct control of the ᶜAbbâsids in the late third/ninth century, the region of Sind had begun a process of disintegra-

tion into increasingly smaller effective political units. By the time of the Ghaznavid conquest, the de facto power in Sind would appear to have resided with the eighteen indigenized Arab tribes whose rights and positions were confirmed by the Ghaznavids.[146]

Political fragmentation was accompanied by economic fragmentation which accelerated in the course of the fourth/tenth century. The numismatic history of Arab Sind is of especial interest here. In the corpus of gold and silver coinage uncovered during recent excavations at the port of Daybul, the only Arab city in Sind to be studied extensively, the terminal date is a silver coin minted at Baṣrah in 261/874.[147] After this date, there are small Habbârid copper coins (no gold or silver), bearing an indigenous motif, usually a star or a lotus flower.[148] On the understanding that the presence of gold and silver coinage implies inter-regional commerce and copper intra-regional commerce, it can be suggested that, as Sind disintegrated into various competitive states, inter-regional commerce waned in importance in favour of intra-regional commerce. Moreover, the popularity of indigenous motifs on the coins of the fourth/tenth century suggests the indigenization of the dynasty itself, drawing on local symbols in its public artifacts.

The port of Daybul, relying as it did on inter-regional maritime commerce, diminished in importance during the fourth/tenth century. Indeed, at the time of the Ghaznavid conquest, no special attempt was made to seize the port and control its

trade.[149] There is even some indication that Daybul was undergoing a process of depopulation concomitant to its declining commercial importance. When the Umayyad mosque of the city was later repaired by the Habbârids, the size of the entrance was reduced by half, suggesting less frequent usage.[150] In addition, the quality of the repairs gradually degenerated. While the floor of the mosque was paved initially with finely worked stone, subsequent repairs reveal four deteriorating levels, ending in a simple floor of compacted earth.[151]

What is being suggested, then, is that there is a correlation between the decline in the recruitment and circulation of the religious elite of Sind (those bearing nisbahs of the region), both at home and abroad, and the economic and political fragmentation occurring in the fourth/tenth century. As noted earlier, the accumulation of mercantile surpluses can be expected to drop when an economy dependent on inter-regional commerce changes into one dependent on intra-regional commerce.[152] The abatement of mercantile surpluses would have an effect both on the recruitment and replication of the religious elite within Sind and the circulation of that elite abroad. Since the vast majority of Sindî Muslims abroad and Muslims within Sind were engaged in the study and transmission of hadîth, it would be this sector of learning which would be affected by these developments.

In Sind itself, one would expect to find the socio-economic system less able to maintain capital intensive educational institutions on the basis of decreasing revenue.

The inability of the Habbârids to maintain the main mosque (with its attached madrasah) at Daybul is strong evidence of this decapitalization of religious institutions. As Habbârid support for crucial institutions subsided, there would be a concomitant decline in the quality and quantity of traditionists produced within Sind. At the same time, due to the decline in accumulated mercantile surpluses, members of the religious elite may well have become relatively impoverished themselves and hence have been unable to meet the costs of education in those institutions which remained. That is, the religious elite of Sind, the group providing the pool of traditionists, would have been unable to replicate their class at the same rate in the altered circumstances of the fourth/tenth century.

The same processes may account for the decline of Sindî traditionists abroad. The drop in the accumulation of mercantile surpluses in Sind would mean that fewer Sindî scholars would have been able to finance a quality education abroad, an expensive proposition, and hence obtain entry in the biographical dictionaries. Moreover, as the economic situation worsened and Sind became increasingly isolated from the central heartlands, there would be fewer Sindîs travelling or living abroad for such purposes as trade who could have participated in the incidental study of hadîth or financed such study on the part of relatives. As the overall circulation of Sindî elite abroad subsided, so would the circulation of Sindî traditionists. As noted earlier, the usage of a regional nisbah would not survive long after severance from some form of

association with its object.[153] In the absence of continuous recruitment from Sind, the incidence of Sind-related nisbahs noted abroad would necessarily decline and eventually disappear. Finally, the religious situation within Sind also would have had an impact on the circulation of Sindî traditionists. The deterioration of institutions supportive of the study of ḥadîth in Sind and the consequent inability of the religious elite to replicate itself left a smaller pool of traditionists within Sind for travel abroad, even if they could bear the expense.

To the extent that the preceding arguments are valid, then it will be necessary to revise, at least with regard to Sind, the well-known theory of Bernard Lewis concerning the relationship between Fâṭimid Ismâᶜîlism and the Indian maritime trade.[154] In his view, the Fâṭimids sought to divert the maritime Indian trade routes from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea in order to gain a monopoly on this crucial trade to the determent of the ᶜAbbâsids. In pursuit of this long-range objective, Lewis argues, the Fâṭimids dispatched agents to coastal Baluchistan and Sind who eventually managed to win these areas, along with their trade, for the Fâṭimids.

However, if inter-regional trade was declining in Habbârid Sind, as argued above, then the attractions of the area as an entrepot for the Indian trade would have fallen correspondingly. Further difficulties arise. For one thing, it is not clear that "Fatimid agents" won over the population of coastal Baluchistan.[155] Lewis' source for this observation,

Ibn Ḥawqal, does refer to a group of Balûch (al-balûṣ) accepting the Fâṭimid da^c^wah, but they are the inland Balûch who resided between Kirmân and Sijistân, not the coastal Balûch.[156] The coastal region of Baluchistan (Mukrân) was governed at the time of Ibn Ḥawqal by the independent dynasty of the Ma^c^dânids, later vassals of the Bûyids and then Ghaznavids, but never the Fâṭimids.[157]

Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the Fâṭimids made "great efforts" to control the "coast of Sind," as Lewis argues, although they certainly attempted, and successfully, to win control over Multân in Upper Sind.[158] If the Fâṭimids had been interested in Sind primarily because of its importance as a major entrepot in Indian maritime trade, then surely they would have concentrated their efforts on that part of Sind adjacent to the sea (i.e., Habbârid Lower Sind) rather than on Sâmid Upper Sind. But, as we have seen, the main thrust of Ismâ^c^îlî attention was focussed on Sâmid Multân. Although important to the control of the overland trade between India and Central Asia, it is difficult to see how the conquest of Multân (some five hundred miles from the nearest seaport) would have contributed anything to the Fâṭimid control of the maritime trade to and from India. The Arab colonies along the western Indian coast (e.g., Ṣaymûr and Sandân) would have been more amenable to such "missionary" trade than Multan, and, indeed, it is precisely these areas in Hind, not Sind, which are referred to repeatedly in later Fâṭimid literature. For example, a letter of the Fâṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, dated 461/1068, refers to a request

by the Ismâ^c^îlî <u>dâ^c^î</u> of Hind, Yûsuf b. Husayn b. Yûsuf al-Saymûrî, to raise a rebellion of his coreligionists at Saymûr, an important port of Gujarat.[159] While nothing appears to have come of it, the subsequent correspondence between the <u>dâ^c^îs</u> of Hind and al-Mustansir, routed via the Sulayhids of the Yaman, indicate that by his time certainly, the Fâtimids had transferred their primary missionary and trade interests in the Indian subcontinent to coastal Hind.[160]

This is not to suggest that the Fâtimids were uninterested in monopolizing the Indian maritime trade. The Geniza papers record details of this trade which verify its importance for Fâtimid Egypt in the fifth/eleventh century and thereafter.[161] But this later mercantile orientation of the Fâtimids (directed primarily at the west coast of India and not Sind) could have had little if anything to do with the much earlier attention accorded Multân.

If there is an explanation for the selection of Upper Sind as one of the earliest target areas for the Ismâ^c^îlî <u>da^c^wah</u>, then it is probably the region's long history as a centre of various ^c^Alid and Shî^c^ite movements and the possibility of exploiting these elements as the initial basis for the expansion of the <u>da^c^wah</u>. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, these movements began shortly after the conquest of the region and continued up to the Ismâ^c^îlî success at Multân. The Sindî extension of the Pure Soul Revolt, represented by ^c^Abd Allâh al-Ashtar and the Zaydîyah, managed to remain intact in Upper Sind longer than in any region of the central

heartlands. The ᶜUmarî ᶜAlids were influential in the area and, as noted, later did become Ismâᶜîlî. Like North Africa and other focal areas of the early daᶜwah, Sind attracted the attention of the Ismâᶜîlîs because it was a region which held forth the prospects of rapid success.

Ismâᶜîlism and the non-Muslim environment. In the previous discussion of the dynamics of conversion in Sind, it was observed that the Arabs who conquered and settled the area displayed little inclination to engage in active proselytization of any type, either coersive or peaceful.[162] In their interaction with the non-Muslim environment of Sind, the Arabs were concerned primarily with the submission of the indigenes and not with their conversion. As long as the non-Muslims submitted peacefully and paid the stipulated jizyah, their religious affiliation was irrelevant. It is apparent that the Ismâᶜîlîs who arrived in Sind to propagate their version of Islam did not share this general approach to the non-Muslim environment.

Alessandro Bausani has drawn a distinction between the conversion styles of primary monotheisms (e.g., Judaism and Islam) and secondary monotheisms (e.g., Christianity and Ismâᶜîlism): the former abjuring, the latter embracing, personal proselytization as a method of conversion.[163] Certainly, the Ismâᶜîlîs, whose highly organized daᶜwah consisted of a diffuse hierarchy of dâᶜîs sent to disseminate their religion throughout the Muslim world, had a fundamental interest in expansion via proselytization and conversion.[164] An early

fourth/tenth century Ismâ^cîlî treatise, Kitâb al-ᶜâlim wa-al-ghulâm ("Book of the Teacher and the Disciple"), has survived which outlines the ideal method of proselytization postulated at the time by Ismâᶜîlîs.[165] The paradigmatic dâᶜî of this conversion and initiation tale does not engage in public or mass proselytization, but attempts, incognito, to locate individuals who might respond positively to the message of the daᶜwah. Such an individual, when found, is led gradually through various pedagogical stages, each elucidated via discourse argued from the perceptual basis of the potential convert. The gradual revelation of the nature of the message culminates with the convert receiving personal instruction in the esoteric meaning (bâṭin) of Ismâᶜîlism in an initiation ceremony conducted by a superior dâᶜî. The neophyte convert subsequently becomes a subsidiary dâᶜî himself and applies the same proselytization procedures elsewhere.

Two significant features of the ideal method of Ismâᶜîlî proselytization are revealed by this early treatise. First, it was secret and individualized, not public and mass. As a result, the expansion of the daᶜwah was limited, in a sense, by the manpower available for undertaking such personalized pedagogical methods. It is likely, as Abbas Hamdani suggests, that individuals singled out for proselytization were not only those who showed a potential receptivity to the message on an ideological level, but those whose social, economic, or political influence might work to further the aims of the daᶜwah.[166] The choice of pedagogical methods, then, suggests that, to be

effective, the group targeted for proselytization would be small but occupy a critical role in the dynamics of the region.

Second, the method of proselytization was gradual, accumulative, and argued from the perceptual basis of the potential convert. The system of belief or ritual of the proselytized individual was accepted as the initial grounds on which to base the proselytizer's arguments, which only slowly emerged and accumulated as proof of the propositions presented. Conversion, then, was a process and not an emphatic event. Moreover, it was a process which emerged from the convert's reconsideration of the basic propositions of his or her religious system and was not simply imposed from without. As a result, a high degree of cognitive dissonance is possible in the subsequent perception of the convert concerning what he is converting to. The proselytized might well perceive the communicated beliefs, argued from his cognitive grounds, as a simple extension of his existing belief system. That is, without strong Ismâ^cîlizing institutions, there would remain a very real possibility of adhesion or syncretism.

Both of these factors carry important implications for the success of Ismâ^cîlism within Sind and the subsequent form it adopted. In the first place, it is clear that the early Ismâ^cîlî <u>dâ^cîs</u> made a concerted attempt to solicit the support of prominent members of the Hindu and Muslim population of Upper Sind, in particular those occupying positions of authority or influence in the less Arabized and Islamized agrarian hinterland. On the Muslim side, the group of con-

sequence would appear to have been the ᶜUmarî ᶜAlids who had settled in Upper Sind, intermarried with the indigenes, and even abandoned their original Arabic in favour of the local language.[167] These indigenized ᶜAlids were won over to the <u>daᶜwah</u>, probably in its initial stages.[168]

However, the largest and most important agrarian group in Upper Sind was the Hindus.[169] This community occupied a position of particular importance in the plans of the early <u>daᶜwah</u>. The anonymous <u>dâᶜi</u>, whose actions were in the main responsible for providing the foundation for Ismâᶜîlism in Multân, is said to have converted a large number of the <u>majûs</u>, a term which in this instance refers to the Hindus of Upper Sind, especially those associated with heliolatry.[170] In the attempt to win over the Hindu community to the <u>daᶜwah</u>, express attention was devoted to winning the support, if not the conversion, of leaders of consequential castes, such as Bathrû, Hûdalahlâ, and Râjabâl of the Sûmrah.[171] If caste leaders could be persuaded to back the Ismâᶜîlî <u>dâᶜîs</u>, then large reserves of caste manpower would be made available for the attempt to seize control of Multân.

The focus on elements of the agrarian elite is readily comprehensible when considered relative to the diffuse economic and political fragmentation mentioned earlier. As a corollary to this fourth/tenth century development, effective political and economic power would have tended to move from the urban areas of Sâmid Multân to the rural hinterland, a tendency which would have the result of exacerbating tensions between

the entrenched Arab Muslim urban elite of Multân and the rural elite consisting of the ^{c}Umarî ^{c}Alids and the leaders of the dominant Hindu castes. Moreover, since Upper Sind was less comprehensively Arabized and Islamized than Lower Sind, the elite of the region would tend, in the main, still to be Hindu.[172] Hence, any attempt by the Ismâ^{c}îlîs to pressure the Sâmids would require the cooperation of significant sectors of this community. In the end, the foundation provided by the ^{c}Umarî ^{c}Alids and the Hindu community gave the nascent <u>da^{c}wah</u> the strength necessary to convert the Sâmids and appropriate the province of Multân for the Fâṭimids.

The Hindus who responded to the Ismâ^{c}îlî manoeuvre would have had their own reasons for participating. While the primary sources do not refer to Hindu motivation in converting, it is possible that, by supporting a factional perspective (Ismâ^{c}îlism) within the ideology (Islam) of the Arab ruling elite, members of the Hindu community may have hoped to obtain the recognition or resources perceived as belonging to them in the altered social and political circumstances. Moreover, Ismâ^{c}îlism provided an alternative ideology which could be used to unite the Hindu and Muslim agrarian elites in order to secure certain shared rights vis-à-vis the entrenched Arab urban elite of Multân. In sum, Ismâ^{c}îlism held out a possibility for the rectification within a Fâṭimid state of the tensions which emerged as a corollary to the wide-scale refeudalization of Upper Sind in the fourth/tenth century.

This then raises the further issue of the type of Ismâ^c^îlism propagated within Sind. It was observed earlier that the ideal method of proselytization postulated for Ismâ^c^îlî dâ^c^îs allowed for the possibility of initial adhesion and later syncretism. There is evidence that the form of Ismâ^c^îlism initially disseminated and subsequently adopted in Sind was a form which allowed the retention of basic elements of the converts' previous system of belief and ritual. The anonymous dâ^c^î who converted many of the Hindus of Upper Sind was accused of permitting them to retain certain rituals from their previous religion as a permissible form of Ismâ^c^îlism. The dâ^c^î allowed the Hindu converts to follow their previous religious laws, "taking no notice of those prohibitions of God that did not exist in their former religion."[173] Where there was a conflict between laws permissible within Hinduism but prohibited by Ismâ^c^îlism, the dâ^c^î allowed the converts to adhere to the former, forbidding only those things prohibited both in Ismâ^c^îlism and Hinduism. Significantly, these Hindu rituals, matrimonial and dietary regulations are specified, were to be retained within the resultant Ismâ^c^îlism propagandized in Sind by the dâ^c^î.

In the previously mentioned Druze epistle, the Ismâ^c^îlî shaykh of Multân, Râjabâl b. Sûmar, is extolled as a true descendant of Bathrû and Hûdalahlâ, probably early converts to Ismâ^c^îlism from the Sûmrah caste.[174] Additional members of the caste are designated in the letter, some bearing Hindu, others Muslim names.[175] This practice stands in sharp con-

trast to the evidence of the prosopographical data on traditionists bearing Sind-related nisbahs where not a single non-Muslim name can be isolated.[176] The retention of Hindu names after conversion to Ismâᶜîlism implies a less authoritarian and less comprehensive attitude towards indigenous conversion than was apparent earlier under the Arabs. Hindu converts to Ismâᶜîlism were not obliged to make a radical break with their pre-Ismâᶜîlî past.

What I am suggesting, then, is that the method of Ismâᶜîlî proselytization in Sind allowed for that form of conversion earlier termed adhesion, the adding on of additional beliefs or rituals to the converts' original system of beliefs or rituals.[177] A number of Ismâᶜîlî doctrines or rituals--some of which admittedly would be readily cognizable within a Hindu context[178]--were adhered to not in conflict with, but in addition to, the original structure of belief or ritual. The original variation of Ismâᶜîlism propagated in Sind permitted this retention of elements of the converts' previous belief system. Presumably, it was thought that, as time passed, some of these elements would be eliminated as converts were Ismâᶜîlized to the literate tradition represented by the Fâṭimids.

The movement from adhesion to conversion proper would depend on the continued vitality of strong Ismâᶜîlization institutions. This process was hindered in Sind by two major factors. First, the Ismâᶜîlîs were able to constitute an effective government at Multân for only less than fifty years, and thereafter they suffered continual repression and perse-

cution. As a result, enforceable public Ismâ^c^îlization institutions simply had a very short duration to produce a lasting effect. Second, as noted above in chapter three, Hinduism had developed relatively strong boundary maintenance devices during the Arab period which had allowed interaction with the Muslim community and the possibility of adhesion and retrieval into caste Hinduism.[179] The non-Ismâ^c^îlî Arab Muslims had provided strong and continual Islamization institutions which had served to hold the converts from Buddhism, but even they had failed, during three centuries of occupation, to draw and retain many converts from Hinduism. In sum, the acceptance of regional variations in Sind without total Ismâ^c^îlization, the withdrawal of enforceable Ismâ^c^îlî authority after the fall of Multân, and the ability of Hinduism to retrieve converts meant that the da^c^wah would not have been able to retain large numbers of Hindus.

In the long run, the inability to Ismâ^c^îlize the Hindu converts to a larger pan-Ismâ^c^îlî context would have important consequences. After the severance of the da^c^wah in Sind from direct central control of the Fâṭimids, the form of Ismâ^c^îlism initially communicated to Sind would have tended to become embedded within a particular context. The embedment (taqîyah) could have occurred within either a Muslim or a Hindu context. If the former, then the Ismâ^c^îlîs risked Islamizing to an alternate Muslim tradition within Sind: e.g., Ṣûfism or Twelver Shî^c^ism. To a certain extent, this process is observable. The shrine of the most important later Ismâ^c^îlî pîr, Shams-i

Tabrîz, is currently in the hands of Twelver Shî^cites in Multân.[180] The same is true of other shrines of Nizârî Ismâ^cîlî pîrs in Sind.[181] Unfortunately, it is impossible to say when this transformation occurred.

The form of Ismâ^cîlism which ultimately survived within Sind and later was transferred to western India was the type embedded within a Hindu context. The result of this embedment was not a simple absorption of the Ismâ^cîlî remnants into Hinduism, but the creation of an innovative synthesis. Adhesion led eventually to syncretism, combining themes and technical vocabulary from both Hinduism and Ismâ^cîlism to form a new and unified system of belief. The Dasa Avatâra of Pîr Shams al-Dîn, written in archaic Sindî, perceives ^cAlî in terms of the Hindu theory of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu during the kaliyuga (the last of the four mythical ages).[182] In this cosmological scheme, ^cAlî takes the form of the last incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. In other ginâns, Muḥammad takes the form of the god Brahmâ, ^cAlî of Viṣṇu, Ḥasan of Śiva, and Fâṭimah of Śakti, integrating Ismâ^cîlî and Hindu concepts.[183] Perhaps, in a region where the rulers and population were also Muslim, Ismâ^cîlism could survive only by isolating itself from the Muslim majority through an embedment within the Hindu stratum of the society.

NOTES

[1]For variations in the name see Ibn ^{c}Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti^{c}âb fî-ma^{c}rifat al-ashâb*, ed. ^{c}Alî Muhammad al-Bajâwî, 4 vols. (Cairo: Maktabah Nahdah Misr, 1957-60), 1:366-69. See Balâdhurî (p. 432) and Ibn Khayyât (*Ta'rîkh*, 1:159) for this early raid on Mukrân.

[2]For details consult M. Ishaq, "Hakim Bin Jabala," pp. 145-50. The *Chachnâmah*, p. 74, has preserved one of his poems in praise of ^{c}Alî b. Abî Tâlib.

[3]Ibid., pp. 140-41. For ^{c}Abd Allâh b. Saba' and the Saba'îyah see Israel Friedlaender, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 19 (1908):18-19, 100 et passim. Watt (*Islamic Thought*, pp. 59-61) feels that the beliefs attributed to the Saba'îyah belong to a later period.

[4]Ibn Sa^{c}d, 8:346. The raid is noted by Balâdhurî, p. 432, and Ibn Khayyât, *Ta'rîkh*, 1:173, 183-84.

[5]Tabarî, 2:129, 143, 147. For this revolt see S. Husain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi^{c}a Islam*, Arab Background Series (London: Longman, 1979; Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1979), pp. 159-67. For his role as a Shî^{c}ite traditionist see Abû Ja^{c}far Ahmad al-Barqî, *Kitâb al-rijâl*, ed. Jalâl al-Dîn al-Husaynî (Tehran: Dânishgâh, 1342/1383/1963), p. 5.

[6]Ibn Sa^{c}d, 6:212-13; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhîb*, 7:224-26; Tabarî, 3:2494.

[7]*Chachnâmah*, p. 101.

[8]See table 2, p. 234 above.

[9]A. F. Bellasis, "An Account of the Ancient and Ruined City of Brahminabad, in Sind," *JBBRAS* 5 (1856):421.

[10]Ibn Tâhir, pp. 59-60; Shahrastânî, 1:165-66. Also see Henri Laoust, *Les Schismes dans l'Islam: Introduction à une étude de la religion musulmane* (Paris: Payot, 1965), pp. 33-34.

[11]For an overview concerning the role of Muhammad al-Bâqir in the ideology of these sects see Watt, *Islamic Thought*, pp. 50-52. The sects have been studied extensively by William

F. Tucker: "Abû Mansûr al-[c]Ijlî and the Mansûriyya: A Study in Medieval Terrorism," Der Islam 54 (February 1977):66-76; "Bayân b. Sam[c]ân and the Bayâniyya: Shî[c]ite Extremists of Umayyad Iraq," MW 65 (October 1975):241-53; "Rebels and Gnostics: al-Mugîra ibn Sa[c]îd and the Mugîriyya," Arabica 22 (February 1975):33-47.

[12]For the Pure Soul Revolt see F. Omar, pp. 211-48; Laost, pp. 63-66; Tilman Nagel, "Ein früher Bericht über den Aufstand von Muhammad b. [c]Abdallâh im Jahr 145h," Der Islam 46 (September 1970):227-62; L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Divagazioni su due rivolte alidi," in A Francesco Gabrieli, Università di Roma, Studi Orientali Pubblicati a cura Della Scuola Orientale, vol. 5 (Rome: Giovanni Bardi, 1964), pp. 315-50; C. van Arendonk, Les Débuts de l'imâmat zaidite au Yémen, trans. Jacques Ryckmans, Publications de la fondation de Goeje, no. 18 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pp. 45-60; Wilferd Madelung, Der Imam al-Qâsim ibn Ibrâhîm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen, Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, n.s., 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), pp. 72-74; Elton Lee Daniel, "Iran's Awakening: A Study of Local Rebellions in the Eastern Provinces of the Islamic Empire, 126-227 A.H. (743-842 A.D.)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1978), pp. 362-66.

[13]Tabarî (3:145-46, 151, 282) gives the report on the authority of Sindî b. Shâhak and Muhammad b. Hafs, both close to the action. Cf. Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 5:517.

[14]For Ibrâhîm's espousal of a Sindî slave girl (jâriyah a[c]jamîyah sindîyah) see Tabarî, 3:283. For [c]Abd Allâh see ibid., 3:364. The later Ashtarîyah are noted by Abû Nasr Sahl al-Bukhârî, Sirr al-silsilah al-[c]Alawîyah, ed. Muhammad Sâdiq (Najaf: al-Matba[c]ah al-Haydarîyah, 1381/1962), p. 8, and Ibn [c]Inabah al-Dâ'ûdî, [c]Umdat al-tâlib fî-ansâb âl Abî Tâlib, ed. Nizâr Ridâ (Beirut: Maktabat al-Hayâh, 1390/1970), p. 86.

[15]The most detailed account of [c]Abd Allâh al-Ashtar's sojourn in Sind is given by Tabarî (3:154, 359-64) and Abû al-Faraj al-Isbahânî (pp. 310-14). Also see Ibn al-Athîr (Kâmil, 5:595-98), Ibn Khaldûn (3:422-23), Mas[c]ûdî (Murûj, 1:193), Abû Nasr al-Bukhârî (pp. 7-8), Ibn [c]Inabah (pp. 85-86), Ibn Hazm (p. 40), and al-Mus[c]ab al-Zubayrî, Kitâb nasab Quraysh, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma[c]ârif, 1953), pp. 53-54. While there is a general agreement that [c]Abd Allâh heard of the death of his father Muhammad after reaching Sind, Isbahânî (p. 311) has him arriving in Sind after his father's death.

[16]Tabarî, 3:360, preserving a tradition of Muhammad b. Sulaymân b. [c]Alî al-Hâshimî, a later governor of Sind (161/777).

[17]Ibn al-Athîr (Kâmil, 5:595); Ibn Khaldûn (3:422).

[18] Tabarî, 3:361.

[19] Ibid., 3:360. Cf., Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 5:596.

[20] For the use of the term Zaydîyah during this period see Friedlaender, pp. 154-59, and Fadîlah ᶜAbd al-Amîr al-Shâmî, Ta'rîkh al-firqah al-Zaydîyah bayn al-qarnayn al-thânî wa-al-thâlith lil-hijrah (Najaf: Matbaᶜat al-Âdâb, 1974).

[21] Tabarî, 3:361.

[22] Ibid. Cf., Ibn al-Athîr (Kâmil, 5:596) and Ibn Khaldûn (3:422).

[23] Isbahânî, p. 312. Ibn ᶜInabah (pp. 85-86) has the name of the place incorrectly as Kâbul.

[24] Yaᶜqûbî (Ta'rîkh, 2:449) and Balâdhurî (p. 445).

[25] Tabarî, 3:361-63. Cf. Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 5:597.

[26] Tabarî (3:363) and Ibn al-Athîr (Kâmil, 5:597) both read the name as Safannaj, but the proper form is probably Sufayh as recorded in another context by Ibn Khayyât (Ta'rîkh, 1:473).

[27] Isbahânî, p. 314. Tabarî (3:364), however, has this occurring while al-Mansûr was still alive.

[28] Tabarî, 3:363. Cf. Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 5:597.

[29] For al-Hasan b. Ibrâhîm see al-ᶜUyûn wa-al-hadâ'iq fî akhbâr al-haqâ'iq, ed. M. J. de Goeje and P. De Jong, Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1869), p. 255. For ᶜAlî b. Muhammad see Marzubânî, Muᶜjam al-shuᶜarâ', ed. ᶜAbd al-Sattâr Ahmad Farrâj (Cairo: ᶜÎsâ al-Bâbî al-Halabî, 1379/1960), pp. 136-37.

[30] ᶜUyûn, p. 252.

[31] Yaᶜqûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:448-49; Balâdhurî, p. 445; Ibn al-Zubayr, Kitâb al-dhakhâ'ir wa-al-tuhaf, ed. Muhammad Hamîd Allâh, al-Turâth al-ᶜArabî, 1 (Kuwait: Dâ'irat al-Matbûᶜât wa-al-Nashr, 1959), pp. 175-76.

[32]Mas^c^ûdî, Murûj, 1:377.

[33]Ibn ^c^Inabah, p. 283. Cf. Massignon, Hallâj, 1:224. For the Kaysânîyah see al-Nawbakhtî, Firaq al-Shî^c^ah, ed. H. Ritter, Bibliotheca Islamica, 4 (Istanbul: Maṭba^c^at al-Dawlah, 1931), pp. 20-21, and Friedlaender, pp. 33-35.

[34]Ibn ^c^Inabah, p. 283; Cf., pp. 293-94.

[35]Ibid., p. 294. Cf. Abû Naṣr al-Bukhârî, p. 98.

[36]Ibid., p. 293. Also see Massignon, Hallâj, 1:224.

[37]Ibid., p. 294.

[38]Ibid., pp. 293-94. For this scholar see ibid., pp. 295-97, and Abû Naṣr al-Bukhârî, pp. vii-viii.

[39]Abû Dulaf cited in Yâqût, 3:457.

[40]Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 174-75; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:321-22; Ibn Rustah, p. 135.

[41]For the period when the Ismâ^c^îlî Imâms were in concealment see Bernard Lewis, The Origins of Ismâ^c^îlism: A Study of the Historical Background of the Fâṭimid Caliphate (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1940; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1975), pp. 37-75. For a discussion of the hidden Imâms in relationship to the later Fâṭimids consult W. Ivanow, Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids, Islamic Research Association Series, no. 10 (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), especially pp. 127-56.

[42]M. J. de Goeje, Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraîn et les Fatimides, Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales, no. 1, 2d ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1886), pp. 8-9, 203.

[43]Reuben Levy, "The Account of the Isma^c^ili Doctrines in the Jami^c^ al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah," JRAS, July 1930, Persian text p. 516, translation, p. 522. Cf. Ḥamd Allâh Qazwînî, Târîkh-i guzîdah, facsimile text and intro. Edward G. Browne, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vols. 14.1-2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1910-13), 1:510.

[44]Rashîd al-Dîn's report has been accepted uncritically by Bernard Lewis, "Ismâ^c^îlî Notes," BSOAS 12 (1948): 599. Ansar Zahid Khan, "Isma^c^ilism in Multan and Sind," JPHS 23 (January

1975):37, believes that it was the sons of Ismâᶜîl b. Jaᶜfar and not Muḥammad b. Ismâᶜîl who went to Qandahâr.

[45] S. M. Stern, "The Early Ismâᶜîlî Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurâsân and Transoxania," BSOAS 23 (1960): 85-87.

[46] For the distinction between the earlier and later phases of the daᶜwah see S. M. Stern, "Ismâᶜîlîs and Qarmatians," in L'Elaboration de l'Islam: Colloque de Strasbourg, 12-13-14 juin 1959 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1961), pp. 99-108.

[47] Ibid. Also see the articles by Wilferd Madelung: "Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaten," Der Islam 34 (September 1959): 34-88; "Ismâᶜîliyya," EI² 4 (1978):198-206; "Karmaṭî," EI² 4 (1978):660-65.

[48] Poonawala, p. 34.

[49] Nuᶜmân, Risâlah, p. 45.

[50] Ibid.

[51] In a recent essay, Aziz Esmail and Azim Nanji("The Ismâᶜîlis in History," in Ismâᶜîlî Contributions to Islamic Culture, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, no. 35 [Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1398/1977], p. 233) have noted that "in Sind, al-Haythâm [sic] and his supporters were able to convert the ruler, thus establishing control over the area, so that by the time the Fâṭimids came to power, an Ismâᶜîli [sic] principality was already in existence there." In fact, we have no knowledge of the actions of this dâᶜî other than the single sentence in the Risâlat (p. 45). It is, however, highly unlikely that he established an Ismâᶜîlî principality in Sind; as will be seen, this happened about three-quarters of a century later.

[52] In addition to the works listed above in note 47, see W. Ivanow, "Ismailis and Qarmatians," JBBRAS, n.s., 16 (1940): 43-85, and Iysa Ade Bello, "The Qarmaṭians," IC 54 (1980):229-41. However, it should be noted that there was a Qarmaṭî sub-sect called al-Baqlîyah ("vegetarians") founded by the dâᶜî Abû Ḥâtim al-Zuṭṭî around 295/907. The nisbah (Arabic zuṭṭ equals Jat) and the vegetarianism suggest an Indic, if not necessarily Sindî, origin. See Madelung, "Karmaṭî," p. 661.

[53] Nuᶜmân, Majâlis, pp. 405-11, 477-81.

[54]Ibid., p. 477.

[55]Abbas Hamdani, "The Fâṭimid-ᶜAbbâsid Conflict in India," IC 41 (July 1967):186.

[56]S. M. Stern, "Ismâᶜîli Propaganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind," IC 23 (October 1949):299: "It is difficult to see how Foucher . . . deduces from the passage of al-Bîrûnî, India, trad. Sachau, I, 21, that the temple of Multan was 'desservi par des "mages",' by 'brahmanes-mages,' implying some kind of Zoroastrian-Hindu syncretism."

[57]See above p. 58.

[58]Nuᶜmân, Majâlis, p. 477, trans. S. M. Stern, "Heterodox Ismâᶜîlism," p. 15.

[59]This is certainly the understanding of the Majâlis, pp. 477-78, which envisions two groups: one of indigenous converts to Ismâᶜîlism and the other of converts who were already Muslim.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Bede, pp. 216-17; Pathan, Mansurah, p. 95; Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Multan during the Rule of the Arabs and the Ismailis," Proceedings of the Congress of Pakistan History and Culture 1 (1975):284-85; Azim Nanji, The Nizârî Ismâᶜîlî Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Monographs in Islamic Religion and Theology (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1978), p. 34.

[62]Idrîs, ᶜUyûn al-akhbâr, trans. Stern, "Ismâᶜîli Propaganda," p. 301. The Arabic text of this sijill has been reconstructed by Stern, "Heterodox Ismâᶜîlism," appendix 1: "The Letter of al-Muᶜizz to Halam b. Shaybân (354/965)," pp. 23-28 (hereafter cited as Sijill). As Stern notes, p. 23, the text of the letter must have been "available in its entirety to Idrîs."

[63]Sijill, text pp. 26-27, trans., pp. 11-12. Cf. Ivanow, "Ismailis and Qarmatians," pp. 75-76 (text), and 74-75 (trans.).

[64]Stern, "Heterodox Ismâᶜîlism," pp. 17-18 et passim.

[65]For a discussion of arguments over the nature of the Imâmate during the time of al-Muᶜizz see Wilferd Madelung, "Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre," Der Islam 37 (1961): 86-114 and, for the Sindî episode, pp. 110-12.

[66]Stern, "Ismâ^c^îli Propaganda," p. 300, citing Idrîs.

[67]The name is rendered as Halam (with the variation Halîm) by Idrîs (ibid.) and as Jalam by Bîrûnî, Tahqîq, 1:116. Bîrûnî's rendition has been preferred here as closer in time to the events in question.

[68]For the change in khutbah compare Istakhrî (p. 175) and Ibn Hawqal (2:322) with Maqdisî (p. 485) and the Hudûd (pp. 89-90).

[69]Sijill, p. 28.

[70]Ibid., pp. 25-26. Trans. Stern, "Ismâ^c^îli Propaganda," pp. 301-2.

[71]Mas^c^ûdî (Murûj, 1:375-76) actually met Abû al-Luhâb al-Munabbih b. Asad in Multân around the year 303/915. Since he observes that the amirate was hereditary (1:207), it is unlikely that al-Munabbih himself founded the dynasty. Also see Istakhrî (pp. 174-75), Ibn Hawqal (2:321-23), Ibn Rustah (p. 135), Yâqût (4:690).

[72]Istakhrî, p. 175; Ibn Hawqal, 2:322; Hudûd, p. 322. For the Quraysh-tribe of Sâmah b. Lu'ayy see Zubayrî, p. 440; Ibn Hazm, pp. 163-64; Kalbî, 1:4, 2:509.

[73]A. Z. Khan, pp. 40-42; A. N. Khan, "Multan," p. 287; S. Nadvî, ^c^Arab ô Hind, pp. 326-29; Abû Zafar Nadvî, Târîkh-i Sindh, Silsilah-yi Dâr al-Musannifîn, no. 71 (Azimgarh: Ma^c^ârif, 1366/1947), pp. 253-65; Abbas Hamdani, The Beginnings of the Ismâ^c^îlî Da^c^wa in Northern India, Hamdani Institute of Islamic Studies, Surat, Islamic Studies Series, no. 1 (Cairo: Sirovic Bookshop, 1956), pp. 2-4.

[74]Hudûd, p. 89. Maqdisî, who actually visited Fâtimid Multân, unfortunately does not give the name or family of its ruler, simply referring to him as "a powerful and just sultân" (p. 485). It is significant, however, that he terms the ruler a sultân and not a dâ^c^î.

[75]Jurbâdhqânî, p. 180.

[76]Maqdisî, p. 485.

[77]Bîrûnî, Tahqîq, 1:116. Cf., 2:148.

[78]Abbas Hamdani, Beginnings, pp. 2-3, and "Conflict," p. 186; A. Z. Khan, pp. 38-39; A. N. Khan, "Multan," pp. 285-87; Friedmann, "Multan," p. 179.

[79]Hudûd, p. 89.

[80]Maqdisî, pp. 484-85. For earlier accounts of the sun-temple see Ibn Rustah, pp. 135-37; Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 174-75; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:321.

[81]Maqdisî, p. 475. Cf. Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 174-75.

[82]Ibid., pp. 480-81, 485.

[83]Abbas Hamdani, Beginnings, pp. 2-3. He assumes that Jalam was still alive at the time of Maqdisî's visit and was both ruler and dâᶜî.

[84]A. N. Khan, "Multan," p. 287.

[85]Bîrûnî, Taḥqîq, 1:116; Sijill, p. 26.

[86]Maqdisî, pp. 484-85; Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 174-75; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:321.

[87]Hudûd, pp. 89-91. For example, at Râmiyân, ruled by the Ismâᶜîlîs from Multân, "at the town gate stands an idol-temple with a copper idol inlaid with gold (ba-zar kanda). They hold it in great reverence, and daily thirty women go round about this idol (sî zan-and kî gird-i but âyand) with drums, tambourines (daf) and dances (pây kûftan)," p. 90.

[88]Bîrûnî, Taḥqîq, 1:116. Maḥmûd's responsibility for the destruction is intimated in the account of the sun-worshippers given by the Ghaznavid historian Gardîzî (d. after 444/1052): "There were two of these idols but Amîr Maḥmûd, God have mercy on his soul, pulled down one of them, and the other still exists in Hindûstân." Gardîzî, trans. Minorsky, p. 637.

[89]ᶜUtbî, 1:72-74; Jurbâdhqânî, p. 35; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 8:685.

[90]ᶜUtbî, 1:74; Jurbâdhqânî, p. 35; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 8:686-87.

[91]For the Ma^c^dânids and the Bûyids see C. E. Bosworth, "The Kûfichîs or Qufs in Persian History," Iran 14 (1976):15-16. For their relations with the Ghaznavids see Muhammad Nazim, The Life and Times of Sultân Maḥmûd of Ghazna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), pp. 79-80. The Ma^c^dânids are mentioned frequently by the Arab geographers: e.g., Iṣṭakhrî, p. 177; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:325; Yâqût, 4:614.

[92]The Hindûshâhî-Ghaznavid conflicts are covered in detail by Nazim, pp. 86-96.

[93]^c^Utbî, 2:66-71; Jurbâdhqânî, pp. 178-79; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:184-85; Gardîzî, pp. 66-67. Nazim (pp. 197-203) identifies Bhâṭîyah with Bhatinda in the eastern Punjab, but this is surely too far to the northeast from Multân. Maḥmûd invaded Bhâṭîyah by way of Wâlishtân (Ṭûrân) and Multân, a very indirect route if Bhâṭîyah is read as Bhatinda. According to the account of Bîrûnî in the Taḥqîq, Bhâṭîyah (he gives the forms Bhâṭîyah and Bhâṭî) was halfway between Multân and Arôr (1:205) and its inhabitants utilized a distinct script related to that of Sind (1:173). This would locate the city somewhere in the region of Uchh. The Chachnâmah refers to Bhâṭîyah (as Bâṭîyah) as an important fort between Arôr and Multân in Upper Sind (pp. 15, 33, 34, 54, 197, 235-36). It was conquered by the Arabs before Multân (pp. 235-36), and hence must have been south, not north, of Multân.

[94]The name is given as Abû al-Futûḥ by ^c^Utbî (2:72) and Ibn al-Athîr (Kâmil, 9:186), while Jurbâdhqânî (p. 180) prefers Abû al-Fatḥ Lôdî, and Gardîzî (pp. 67-68) simply Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr.

[95]The alliance is explicitly referred to by Muḥammad b. Hindûshâh Firishtah, Târîkh-i Firishtah, 2 vols. (Lucknow: Nawal Kishôr, 1281-82/1864-65), 1:24-25, but is also intimated by the assistance given by Anandpâl during Maḥmûd's raid on Multân (see ^c^Utbî, 2:73-74; Gardîzî, p. 67).

[96]For the first Ghaznavid raid on Multân see ^c^Utbî, 2:72-76; Jurbâdhqânî, pp. 180-81; Gardîzî, pp. 67-68; Qazwînî, p. 396; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:186; Ibn Khaldûn, 4:785-86; Abû al-Qâsim Hasan ^c^Unṣurî, Dîvân, ed. Yaḥyâ Qarîb, 2d ed. (Tehran: Ibn-i Sînâ, 1341 A.H.S./1962), pp. 180-81. The standard secondary account is still Nazim, pp. 96-99. Also see Mohammad Habib, Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, 2d ed., rev. (Aligarh: Cosmopolitan Publishers, n.d.), pp. 25-26, and C. E. Bosworth, The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994-1040 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1963), pp. 52, 76.

[97]^c^Utbî, 2:72; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:186; Ibn Khaldûn, 4:785.

[98]C. E. Bosworth, "The Imperial Policy of the Early Ghaznawids," Islamic Studies 1 (1962):49-82, but especially pp. 59-63.

[99]Gardîzî, p. 67; [c]Utbî, 2:73-74; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil 9:186.

[100]According to [c]Utbî, 2:74 (followed by Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:186, and Ibn Khaldûn, 4:785), Dâ'ûd escaped to Sarandîb (Sri Lanka), but this is not likely. [c]Utbî is probably illustrating his view of the complete abandonment of Multân by its Ismâ[c]îlî governor.

[101]Gardîzî (pp. 67-68) notes that Multân was taken by treaty (sulh), while [c]Utbî (2:75) prefers force ([c]anwatan). Since Multân remained semi-independent until 401/1010, Gardîzî's report would seem to be more accurate.

[102]Gardîzî, pp. 67-68; [c]Utbî, 2:75; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:186.

[103]Gardîzî, p. 70; Firishtah, 1:27.

[104]Gardîzî, p. 70.

[105]Ibn Tâhir, p. 293. Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubârak Shâh, Âdâb al-harb va-al-shajâ[c]ah, ed. Ahmad Suhaylî Khvânsârî (Tehran: Iqbâl, 1346 A.H.S./1967), p. 268, notes that so many Ismâ[c]îlîs were killed that a stream of blood flowed through the Lahore Gate of Multân and Mahmûd's hand stuck to the hilt of his sword. While no doubt exaggerated, it is likely that there were considerable casualties among the Ismâ[c]îlîs of Multân.

[106]Gardîzî, p. 70; Firishtah, 1:27.

[107]Bîrûnî, Tahqîq, 1:117.

[108]Maqdisî, p. 485.

[109]Pathan, Mansurah, pp. 95-96. While the Bûyids were Twelver Shî[c]ites, they were neither Ismâ[c]îlîs nor supporters of the Fâtimids. See Cl. Cahen, "Buwayhids or Bûyids," EI[2] 1 (1960):1350-57, and Dwight M. Donaldson, The Shi'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Irak, Luzac's Oriental Religions Series, vol. 6 (London: Luzac, 1933), chap. 26: "The Rise of the Buwaihids," pp. 272-80.

110 Gardîzî, p. 87; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:345-46; Ibn Khaldûn, 4:802. Also see Nazim, p. 120, and M. Habib, Mahmud, p. 58. Unfortunately, ^{c}Utbî terminates his account in the year 411/1020.

111 Abû al-Ḥasan ^{c}Alî Farrukhî, Dîvân, ed. Muḥammad Dabîr (Tehran: Iqbâl, 1335 A.H.S./1957), p. 72, is the only source to give this name. It is possible, however, that the reference is to a leader of the Jat community of Sind who formed the main opposition to Maḥmûd on his return from Somnâth (Gardîzî, p. 87) and not to a Habbârid. Indeed, Maḥmûd was obliged to return in 418/1027 to clear Lower Sind of the Jats (ibid., pp. 88-89).

112 Ibn Ḥazm, p. 109; Ibn Khaldûn, 2:677-78.

113 Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:345. Cf., Ibn Khaldûn, 4:802.

114 The theory is best developed by A. Hamdani, Beginnings, pp. 6-8, who dates the Habbârid Ismâ^{c}îlî state as extending from 401/1010 to 416/1025. Pathan, Mansurah, pp. 94-96, feels that the Habbârids converted to Ismâ^{c}îlism "in order to avoid the fury of those fanatics who would have otherwise overthrown his kingdom." Also see Elliot, 3:58-59, and A. Z. Khan, p. 42.

115 See, for example, Gardîzî, p. 87, and Farrukhî, p. 72.

116 Rasâ'il al-ḥikmah, pp. 474-79 (letter no. 61). The name occurs as Ibn Sûmar Râjabâl in the salutation (p. 474) but in short later as Râjabâl (p. 475). For the Druze see M. G. S. Hodgson, "Durûz," EI^2 2 (1965):631-34; idem, "al-Darazî and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion," Journal of the American Oriental Society 82 (1962):5-20; David Bryer, "The Origins of the Druze Religion," Der Islam 52 (1975):47-84, 239-62; 53 (1976):5-27; Sadik A. Assaad, The Reign of al-Hakim Bi Amr Allah (386/996-411/1021): A Political Study (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 1974), chap. 6: "Origin of the Druz Movement," pp. 156-81.

117 Rasâ'il, pp. 475-76.

118 A. Hamdani, Beginnings, p. 9, argues that Râjabâl must have belonged to the official Fâṭimid Ismâ^{c}îlî da^{c}wah and not the dissident Druze "because in that case the Druze writer would not have appealed to Shaykh Sûmar Râjibal [sic] to accept Druzism." However, the epistle does not ask Râjabâl to accept the Druze faith, but refers to him as the leader of the Unitarians (by which the Druze are meant) of Multân.

[119]A. Z. Khan, pp. 44-45, suggests that ᶜAbd Allâh "headed a group which had deviated from their former beliefs."

[120]Mubârak Shâh, in referring to the revolt (pp. 253-54), simply calls him "the son of Dâ'ûd whom the Qarmaṭîs call shaykh," but he is surely the Dâ'ûd al-Aṣghar of the Druze epistle. Azim Nanji (pp. 37-38) suggests that this "son of Dâ'ûd" is the same person as Shaykh Râjabâl b. Sûmar of the Druze epistle, but this is untenable. The letter distinguishes clearly between Râjabâl and Dâ'ûd al-Aṣghar. For this revolt at Multân see C. E. Bosworth, The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay: The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India, 1040-1186, Persian Studies Series, no. 7 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1977), p. 31.

[121]Minhâj-i Sirâj Jûzjânî, Ṭabaqât-i Nâṣirî, trans. H. G. Raverty, Bibliotheca Indica, 2 vols. (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1881-99; reprint ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1970), 1:449-50, 491.

[122]Maᶜṣûm, pp. 60-62, and notes pp. 286-94; Qâniᶜ, pp. 67-69, and notes pp. 484-86. Later Sindî historians fabricated an Arab origin for this caste, reading Sûmrah as derived from Sâmîrah (Samaritans).

[123]Maᶜṣûm, p. 60; Qâniᶜ, p. 68.

[124]Thus, for example, Jûzjânî (1:449, 491), noting the extinction of a revolt in Multân in 571/1175, terms it Qarmaṭî, but does not give the designation to the Sûmrah who were defeated at Daybul several years later (1:452-53). Nor does Ibn Baṭṭûṭah (3:596-97, 599), who was in Sûmrah Sind, refer to them as Ismâᶜîlîs or Qarmaṭîs.

[125]See Elliot, 3:92-94; S. Nadvî, ᶜArab ô Hind, pp. 352-55, 362-64; A. Hamdani, Beginnings, pp. 8-16; Nanji, pp. 37-40.

[126]For an excellent account of the later Nizârî developments in India see Azim Nanji, passim.

[127]Ibid., pp. 53-55, 61-69. Also see Kazi Ahmed Mian Akhtar, "Shams Tabrizi--Was He Ismailian?" IC 10 (January 1936): 131-36, and W. Ivanow, "Shams Tabriz of Multan," in Professor Muhammad Shafi Presentation Volume, ed. S. M. Abdullah (Lahore: Majlis-e-Armughan-e-Ilmi, 1955), pp. 109-18.

[128]Nanji, p. 74 et passim; Madelung, "Ismâᶜîliyya," p. 202.

[129]Nanji, p. 77. For the community see W. Madelung, "Khôdja," EI[2] 5 (1979):25-27; Syed Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khojas and Their Religious Life Today (Würsburg: Buchdruckerei Richard Mayr, 1936).

[130]Nanji, pp. 74, 77. For the Hindu Lohânahs see Burton, pp. 314-17; Elliot, 2:112-14.

[131]Gulshan Khakee, "The Das Avatara of Pir Shams as Linguistic and Literary Evidence of the Early Development of Ismailism in Sind," paper presented at the International Seminar on Sind through the Centuries, Karachi, Pakistan, 2-7 March 1975 (typescript). Also see Nanji, pp. 7-24, 143-49.

[132]See above pp. 247-53 and graph 1, p. 249.

[133]Excluding the peripheral hadîth interests of the great Suhrawardî Şûfîs of Multân and Ûchh, the study of tradition revived in Sind during the tenth/sixteenth century (Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 110-11, 234-36 et passim) producing such well-known traditionists as ᶜAbd Allâh b. Ibrâhîm al-Sindî (d. 955/1548), ᶜAbd Allâh b. Saᶜd al-Sindî (d. 984/1576), Rahmat Allâh b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Sindî (d. 993/1585), and ᶜUthmân b. ᶜÎsá al-Sindî (d. 1008/1599).

[134]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 41-44. Cf. Schimmel, Islamic Literatures, p. 2. Ismâᶜîlî scholars who have studied Multân have shown little interest in pre-Ismâᶜîlî Arab Sind or the relationship between Ismâᶜîlism and the earlier Sindî traditionism. This is, no doubt, understandable since their concern with Ismâᶜîlî Sind is prefatory to the later Indian Ismâᶜîlism of the Nizârîs.

[135]Ibid., p. 42.

[136]Ibid., although he also notes (p. 43) that no further Sindî traditionists travelled abroad after the Ismâᶜîlî conquest.

[137]Ibid., p. 43.

[138]Ibid., p. 42.

[139]Fâţimid law utilized hadîth from the Ismâᶜîlî Imâms and other ᶜAlids. Their legal system did not differ radically from Sunnite systems. See Bayard Dodge, "The Fâţimid Legal Code," MW 50 (January 1960):30-38, and Wilferd Madelung, "The Sources of Ismâᶜîlî Law," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 35 (January 1976):29-40.

[140]According to Gustav E. von Grunebaum, "The Nature of the Fâtimid Achievement," in Colloque International sur l'histoire du Caire, 27 Mars-5 Avril 1969 (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1972), p. 205: "Realizing as they must have done that displacement of Sunnism by their own beliefs would be impossible to achieve, the régime confined itself to securing Ismâᶜîlî leadership at court and appointments at the higher and highest levels (but by no means reserving those to its coreligionists), and to establishing a centre of Ismâᶜîlî theological and legal training in the teaching-mosque of al-Azhar."

[141]For arguments against the posited golden age in the study of tradition in Sind see above pp. 251-53.

[142]See graph 1, p. 249 above.

[143]See above pp. 251-53.

[144]In addition to the two main dynasties of the Sâmids and Habbârids, the fourth/tenth century saw the minor dynasties of Muᶜtazz (also given as Muᶜammar and Mughayr) b. Ahmad at Kîzkânân in Țûrân (Ișțakhrî, p. 177; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:324, Yâqût, 4:105), Abû al-Qâsim al-Basrî also in Țûrân (Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:324), the Maᶜdânids at Kîz in Mukrân (Ișțakhrî, p. 177; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:325; Yâqût, 4:614), and Muțahhar b. Rajâ' at Mashkay also in Mukrân (Ișțakhrî, p. 178; Ibn Ḥawqal, 2:325).

[145]Thus while the non-Ismâᶜîlî Sâmids ruled Multân from around 280/893 to 354/965, only the name of al-Munabbih b. Asad al-Sâmî al-Qurashî has survived in an isolated reference by Masᶜûdû (Murûj, 1:207). With the exception of the founder, ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzîz, all other Habbârid rulers are known by single references. ᶜAbd Allâh b. ᶜUmar by a note in Râmhurmuzî (pp.2-3); Mûsâ b. ᶜUmar by a stray reference in Ibn al-Zubayr (p. 37) to gifts dispatched in 271/884 to the caliph al-Muᶜtamid; Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allâh by a fragmentary inscription dated 294/906 (Abdul Ghafur, pp. 81-84); ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd Allâh by a note in Masᶜûdî (Murûj, 1:377); Yaḥyâ b. Muḥammad from Abû Dulaf (Yâqût, 3:457); and Khafîf from a poem of Farrukhî (p. 72). Even then, the governors from around 340/951 to 400/1009 are unknown.

[146]Maᶜșûm, p. 32; Qâniᶜ, pp. 53, 55.

[147]Nasir, pp. 124, 141.

[148]Ibid., pp. 126-29, 149-81.

[149]The earliest sources refer only to the seizure of Mansûrah (Gardîzî, p. 87; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, 9:345-46), while the later Sindî historians refer to the conquest of Sîwistân and Tattah (Maᶜsûm, p. 32; Qâniᶜ, p. 55).

[150]Ashfaque, p. 198. It is not known when the repair was undertaken, but it could be that referred to in the inscription of the Habbârid Muhammad b. ᶜAbd Allâh (Abdul Ghafur, pp. 81-83).

[151]Ashfaque, pp. 191, 196.

[152]See above pp. 143-48.

[153]See above p. 227.

[154]Bernard Lewis, "The Fâtimids and the Route to India," Revue de la Faculté de sciences économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul 14 (1953):50-54; Idem, "An Interpretation of Fâtimid History," in Colloque International sur l'histoire du Caire, 27 Mars-5 Avril 1969 (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1972), pp. 287-95.

[155]Lewis, "Route," p. 53.

[156]Ibn Hawqal, 2:310. Even if one assumes that Ibn Hawqal is mistaken here and that he intends to refer to the coastal Balûch (as Bosworth suggests, "Kûfichîs," p. 13), this would be the coast of Kirmân and not Mukrân.

[157]Istakhrî, p. 177; Ibn Hawqal, 2:325. See above p. 361, note 91 for the Maᶜdânids.

[158]Lewis, "Interpretation," p. 292.

[159]See letter 60, pp. 196-200, of al-Mustansir bi-Allâh, al-Sijillât al-Mustansirîyah, ed. ᶜAbd al-Munᶜim Mâjid (Cairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-ᶜArabî, 1954). For the port of Saymûr see Istakhrî, pp. 170, 172, 176; Maqdisî, pp. 477, 486; Idrîsî, pp. 56-58, 101-2; Hudûd, pp. 88, 245.

[160]Mustansir, letters nos. 41, 50, 58, 60, 63. For this correspondence and the role of the Sulayhids consult Husayn b. Fayd Allâh al-Hamdânî, al-Sulayhîyûn wa-al-harakat al-Fâtimîyah fî-Yaman, 267-626 (Cairo: Maktabah Misr, 1955), pp. 224-27; Idem, "The Letters of al-Mustansir bi'llâh," BSOAS 7 (1933-35):307-24; Idem, "The Life and Times of Queen

Saiyidah Arwâ the Ṣulaihid of the Yemen," Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society 18 (October 1931):514; S. M. Stern, "Cairo as the Centre of the Ismâᶜîlî Movement: Ismâᶜîlism as the State Religion in the Fâṭimid Empire and as a Missionary Movement Outside It," in Colloque International sur l'histoire du Caire, 27 Mars-5 Avril 1969 (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1972), pp. 447-48.

[161]S. D. Goitein, Studies, chap. 17: "Letters and Documents on the Indian Trade in Medieval Times," pp. 329-50; Idem, "From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," Speculum 29 (April 1954):181-97.

[162]See above pp. 118-20.

[163]Alessandro Bausani, "Can Monotheism Be Taught? (Further Considerations on the Typology of Monotheism);" Numen 10 (1963):167-201.

[164]Bayard Dodge, "The Fâṭimid Hierarchy and Exegesis," MW 50 (April 1960):130-41; W. Ivanow, "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda," JBBRAS, n.s., 15 (1939):1-35; Marius Canard, "L'Impérialisme des Fâṭimides et leur propaganda," in M. Canard, Miscellanea Orientalia (London: Variorum Reprints, 1973), pp. 156-93; Idem, "Daᶜwa," EI^2 2 (1965):168-70; M. G. S. Hodgson, "Dâᶜî," EI^2 2 (1965):97-98.

[165]Summarized in W. Ivanow, Studies in Early Persian Ismailism, Ismaili Society, series A, no. 8, 2d ed., rev. (Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1955), chap. 4: "The Book of the Teacher and the Pupil," pp. 61-86. For an analysis see Henry Corbin, "L'Initiation ismaélinne ou l'ésotérisme et le verbe," Eranos Jahrbuch 39 (1970):41-142.

[166]Abbas Hamdani, "Evolution of the Organisational [sic] Structure of the Fâṭimî Daᶜwah: The Yemeni and Persian Contribution," Arabian Studies 3 (1976):97.

[167]Ibn ᶜInabah, p. 294.

[168]Ibid.

[169]See above pp. 137-39 for the agrarian associations of Sindî Hindus. The main non-Muslim group in Upper Sind was Hindu, there being few if any Buddhists in the region (see above pp. 42-43).

[170]See above pp. 318-19.

[171]*Rasâ'il*, p. 475.

[172]See above pp. 129-30.

[173]Nu^c^mân, *Majâlis*, p. 477, trans. Stern, "Heterodox Ismâ^c^îlism," p. 15.

[174]*Rasâ'il*, p. 475.

[175]Ibid. Cf., de Sacy, *Exposé*, 2:342.

[176]See below appendix C.

[177]See above p. 100.

[178]Perhaps the Ismâ^c^îlî veneration of the ^c^Alids as possessing a caste-like lineage claim to verity which culminated in the Fâṭimid Imâms might appeal to upper caste Brahmins with their emphasis on purity of lineage and descent; the pedagogical style of the early Ismâ^c^îlîs, focussing on personal instruction of esoteric knowledge by a charismatic figure, might appeal to Hindus within the guru tradition; and the reincarnation concept of the Druze might appeal to the karmic perceptions of Hindus. Indeed, it should be pointed out, the usual argument concerning Hindu conversion to Ismâ^c^îlism is founded on perceived similarities in religious themes between the two systems (see, e.g., Elliot, 3:92-94, and Qureshi, pp. 44-46). However, it is unclear why, all things being equal, such congruencies alone would impel Hindus to accept Ismâ^c^îlism since the themes already existed within their own belief system. In any case, if the attraction of Ismâ^c^îlî concepts alone were sufficient to engender conversion of Hindus, then surely most of the Hindu community of Sind would have opted for Ismâ^c^îlism, and they did not.

[179]See above pp. 167-75.

[180]Christopher Shackle, "The Multani *marsiya*," *Der Islam* 55 (October 1978):282-83.

[181]Gulshan Khakee, "The *Dasa Avatâra* of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 51-52.

[182]Ibid., pp. 17-40.

[183]Nanji, p. 117.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this dissertation, I have had occasion to note the unsatisfactory nature of much of the recent scholarship on religion in Arab Sind. This has been due, in the main, to the highly reified and ahistorical quality of the discussion. Arguments from a postulated invariable normative Islam have either replaced or taken precedence over arguments from actual historical data derived from Arab Sind. As a result, the scholarly debate over religion in Arab Sind frequently has been reduced to a debate over the essential nature of Islam (or, to a lesser extent, of the other religions represented in the area), a situation which readily permitted the entry of polemical disputations of particular consequence to the historiography of the Indian subcontinent in recent times. This is especially evident in discussions of conversion (the main topic of interest in the secondary literature), but it is also apparent in arguments concerning the quality of Islam in Arab Sind and the Ismâ^{c}îlî onus for the decline in the incidence of Sindî traditionists.

I have attempted, in the preceding chapters, to rectify this situation by describing and analyzing religion and society in Arab Sind with direct reference to data generated from Sind

or by Sindîs. As a result, the account of the religious history of Arab Sind which has been given here varies considerably from that found elsewhere in the secondary literature.

When the data on Sind are examined, it becomes clear that Sind was not simply Benaras or Mecca on the Indus, and any analysis which proceeds on the basis of such an assumption will necessarily distort the complicated religious and social history of the region. There were specific non-Muslim religions and sects in the Indus Valley existing in a particular Sindî configuration: Hinduism in its Pâŝupata Ŝaivite form (235 out of 273 Hindu temples) and Buddhism of the Sammitîya Theravâda school (350 out of 450 Buddhist monasteries). The non-Muslim population of Sind, then, varied not only from that of other areas of the Muslim world but also, in their unique sectarian alignment, from that of other regions of South Asia.

The simple category "non-Muslim" is clearly inadequate for the study of religion in Arab Sind. Indeed, the sharp distinction between the two non-Muslim groups of Sind--a matter not generally pursued by recent scholars--is imperative to the differential method of analysis utilized in chapter three. The two sects, it becomes apparent, did not respond similarly to the events of the Arab conquest and settlement. Buddhists tended to collaborate to a significantly greater extent and at an earlier date than did Hindus and, more importantly, Hinduism persisted while Buddhism expired as a religious system during the Arab period. The explanation of this disparity in response was sought initially in further observed differentials in the class

composition and support of the two religious groups. Buddhism, in sharp contrast to Hinduism, tended in Sind to be vitally associated with the mercantile sector of the economy and inter-regional commerce.

Buddhist collaboration could then be seen in terms of the effect on their class interests of two related socio-economic changes transpiring prior to the Arab conquest: the decline in the volume of inter-regional trade in transit through Sind and the concomitant feudalization of the Indus region. Buddhist reaction to these developments was patterned by the specific antipathy of the Brahmin dynasty toward regularized inter-regional commerce (as evidenced by the obstruction of maritime trade at Daybul) and the expectation that the incorporation of Sind into an expanding Arab trade empire might reopen the overland and maritime transit trade and revitalize the mercantile sector of the economy.

Likewise, socio-economic modulations attendant on the Arab settlement of Sind had disparate effects on the two religious communities. The restructured Arab trade did not benefit the urban, mercantile Buddhists since it emphasized alternate trade routes, was supported by different institutions, and became the monopoly of a competitive urban, mercantile elite. As a result, those Buddhists primarily associated with the mercantile sector would have experienced a negative change in their share of the accumulation of mercantile surpluses. Since urban, mercantile Muslims prospered during the same period, the urban, mercantile Buddhists could perceive this situation of relative deprivation

as related broadly to their religious category and not to their class. The religious option of converting to Islam would have been a plausible reaction to the pressures of relative deprivation.

The defection to Islam of this group of Buddhists would have further exacerbated the state of Buddhism in Arab Sind by decapitalizing the Buddhist monastic system, already in decline due to the restructured trade. Rural, non-mercantile Buddhists, deprived of normative monastic support, would have been vulnerable to pressures of absorption into the belief and ritual system of their Hindu counterparts or, alternatively (depending on the strength of caste, kinship, or trade linkages), the new religion of the converts to Islam from mercantile Buddhism.

Hinduism within Sind did not undergo the same process since its primary class strength lay in the non-mercantile rural sector which was not immediately penetrated or challenged by Islamic urbanism and mercantilism. Rural, non-mercantile Hindus were less likely to experience relative deprivation since, with a few exceptions, Arab rule did not substantially alter their position for the worse. Further, due to a broad foundation of ritual specialists and temples capitalized on a rural basis, Hinduism would have been less susceptible to a radical disruption of its fiscal and institutional viability. Ideological factors also contributed to the resilience of Hinduism. Specific legal procedures were outlined by the <u>Devala-smṛti</u>, written in Arab Sind, which enabled Hindus to interact with the Muslim community while still guarding against conversion.

The majority of work done on Islam in Arab Sind has tended to centre on the quality of religion practiced in the region. On the one hand, there is the view that Sind was an important Islamic centre which produced scholars and generated concepts crucial to the evolution of Islamic thought in the classical period; other scholars, primarily non-Sindîs, argue the view that Sind was a cultural wasteland, barely governed by the Arabs, with only a veneer of Islam apparent on the surface. It was suggested in chapter four that the attempt to prove or disprove the Islamic centre hypothesis, the general quality of Islam in Sind, has tended to draw attention away from the possibility of utilizing the prosopographical data on a multiple basis for other purposes: to establish the relative Islamic preoccupations of the population and its rise and decline over time. The prosopographical data, when used in the aggregate for these limited purposes, have challenged a number of presuppositions commonly made concerning Islam in Arab Sind.

Not only did some Sindîs accept Islam while others did not, but the collated biographies suggest a preoccupation with a certain form of Islam on the part of Sindî Muslims. Throughout all periods covered by the data, the vast majority of Sindî Muslims, both within Sind and abroad, were traditionists (85.0 percent of all non-Shî^c^ites). Moreover, a significant portion of these traditionists belonged to the group known as the aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth, who vigorously pursued a position regarding the primary role of textual reports in establishing the proper religious behaviour for the Muslim community.

The particular configuration of Islam in Arab Sind and among Sindî Muslims can be seen in the non-Muslim context from which it emerged by way of conversion and the Islamic context into which it merged by way of Islamization. While it is often tacitly assumed that there is a single timeless normative tradition of Islam, it is clear that, even in the classical period, literate Islam contained a range of elements, all equally Islamic. Granted that conversion took place among certain groups in Sind for the reasons outlined in chapter three, then it is reasonable to expect that antecedent ideological patterns would have a role in determining what elements of the Islam presented in Arab Sind would be accepted and subsequently internalized by way of Islamization. To a certain extent, therefore, the prevalence of a textualist form of Islam can be comprehended in the perspective of the antecedent textualism of the Sammitîya Buddhists, the largest group of converts.

At the same time, Islam in Arab Sind and among Sindî Muslims cannot be viewed solely as a simple working out of ideological elements already apparent in pre-Muslim Sind. Due to the colonial nature of Arab Sind, the convert group was exposed to intensive pressures of Islamization and Arabization which served to constrain the extent of indigenization and limit the range of the continuum of elements acceptable as Islamic, at least at the literate level. On the evidence of the prosopographical data, where not a single non-Muslim name can be isolated in the genealogies, one can conclude that Sindî converts to Islam were particularly prone to the Islamization

process. In the degree of Islamization and Arabization of the convert community, Arab Sind provides an example which contrasts sharply with later Indian, or even post-Arab Sindî, Islam where indigenous non-Muslim elements and terminology surface in a literate (primarily mystical) Islamic context. Sind was the only major area of the subcontinent conquered and ruled by Arabs, and it would be surprising indeed if the three centuries of colonialism were not reflected in the evolution of Islam in the area.

A further series of conclusions were generated by the chronological analysis of the prosopographical data. The incidence of Sindî Muslims noted in the biographical sources reaches its apex in the middle of the third/ninth century and, thereafter, declines precipitously. An argument from religious ideology, based on the assumption of Ismâ[c]îlî animosity to the Sunnî religious sciences, is usually employed to explain this decline. The collated data, however, will simply not support the consensus: the retrogression begins long before the Ismâ[c]îlî conquest of Multân, and, in any case, the Ismâ[c]îlîs did not have authority over those areas of Sind which produced Muslim scholars.

An analysis of the chronology of the Sindî biographies led in a more compelling and unexpected direction. Following the logical assumption that the causal factors must be located at the beginning of the downswing in the population of the Sindî religious elite, an explanation was sought in the political and economic fragmentation of Sind during the Habbârid and Sâmid period. It was suggested that these internal developments, in particular the decline in the generation of mercantile sur-

pluses from inter-regional trade, would have acted to impede the recruitment and replication of the Muslim religious elite within Sind and its circulation abroad.

If this view of fourth/tenth century Sind is accepted, then it is necessary to reconsider the history of the rise of Ismâ^c^îlism in Arab Sind. In the first place, the assumption that the Ismâ^c^îlîs were drawn to Sind by the lucrative maritime Indian trade loses its attraction when seen in the perspective of the final phase of Arab rule in Sind. On the contrary, the factors the dâ^c^îs were able to exploit in Sind emerged from specific tensions and contradictions concomitant with the political and economic fragmentation of the region. Further, the support given the da^c^wah by certain sectors of the Hindu population can be seen as an attempt to come to terms with the same historical tensions resulting from the refeudalization of Sind. That is, the frequently vented causal argument which holds that Hindus converted to Ismâ^c^îlism in Sind as a simple consequence of congenial similarities in ideological themes would appear to miss the mark. Without the presence of some additional motivating factor, it is not clear why certain groups of Hindus would abandon their own ideological system for another with a number of similar themes.

Finally, the perspective on Ismâ^c^îlism which emerges from the data on Arab Sind suggests a further line of analysis into the subsequent history of the religion in post-Arab Sind. While the earlier form of Arab Islam was indifferent to conversion but supportive of rapid Islamization, the system of

Ismâ^c

Ismâ^{c}îlism initially propagated in Sind and accepted by certain segments of the Hindu population allowed the retention of basic elements from Hinduism as a normative Sindî variation of Ismâ^{c}îl-ism. The ability to Ismâ^{c}îlize the convert community to some form of the literate tradition represented by the Fâṭimids was inhibited by the short duration of Fâṭimid rule in Sind and the harsh and restrictive repression which followed its withdrawal. To a certain extent, then, the later embedding of Ismâ^{c}îlism within a Hindu context can be traced to particular historical developments of the earliest phase of Ismâ^{c}îlism in Arab Sind. The ultimate result of this embedment was the creation of the innovative and dynamic synthesis characteristic of the Nizârî Ismâ^{c}îlism of the <u>ginâns</u>.

APPENDIX A

BUDDHIST SITES IN SIND[1]

1. Budh-jo Thakar. Two stûpas are located at this site in the Indus Delta across the river from the stûpa at Jherruck. Neither has been properly excavated or studied.[2]

2. Depar Ghangro. A site on the east bank of the Indus River in the old Brahmanâbâd-Manṣûrah-Maḥfûẓah urban complex, it contains at least one stûpa along with other ruins, probably monasteries.[3]

3. Dhakanjo-daro. A stûpa and possibily monasteries located on the east bank of the Indus River, four miles north of Shahdadpur on the road to Sarhari.[4]

4. Dhamraojo-daro. A series of mounds comprising a stûpa (possibly more than one) and monastic complex located near the village of Dhamrao, six miles from Badah on the west bank of the Indus River.[5]

5. Dranjan. A stûpa with a square base surrounded by subsidiary mounds (monasteries?) located near the village of Kirta inside the Bolan Pass about thirty-six miles west of Sibi.[6]

6. Jherruck (Kafir-Kot). A stûpa and monastic complex situated in the Indus Delta, two or three miles south of the town of Jherruck on the west bank of the Indus River. A large

quantity of terracotta fragments of Buddhist statues and ornaments have been found in the region.[7]

7. Jhukar. Located six miles west of Larkana on the west bank of the Indus River, the site has yielded a number of artifacts, both Hindu and Buddhist. N. G. Majumdar, who excavated it, believes a stûpa was located here.[8]

8. Kuttehar. The site of a stûpa and other ruins (possibly monasteries), located in the Indus Delta two miles northwest of the more famous stûpa at Sudheranjo-daro.[9]

9. Mari Sabar. A stûpa only recently discovered (1964), it is located two miles northwest of Deh Mari Sabar in central Sind.[10]

10. Mirpur Khas (Kahujo-daro). Perhaps the most extensively studied Buddhist site in Sind, it is situated on the outskirts of the modern town of Mirpur Khas in southeast Sind. The site has yielded one major stûpa, several minor stûpas, an extensive monastic complex, and a number of Buddhist artifacts. Among the latter are an intact relic case (containing beads of coral, crystal, and gold, pearls, coins, and ashes), a painted statue of the Bodhisattva Padmapâṇî, and numerous statues of the Buddha, including a large stucco figure covered with gold leaf.[11]

11. Mohenjo-daro. A well-preserved stûpa surrounded by a two story monastery containing a chapel, assembly hall, refectory, and monks' quarters, it is situated on top of the Harappan civilization ruins at Mohenjo-daro on the west bank

of the Indus River.[12]

12. Qasim Kirio. A stûpa and monastery has recently been uncovered at this site located six miles along the road from Nawab Shah to Sanghar on the east bank of the Indus. It has not yet been adequately excavated or studied.[13]

13. Sirar. The foundations of three stûpas and an extensive monastic complex were discovered here during trial excavations in 1929-30. The site is located on a hill, four miles east of Kot Diji and eighteen miles southwest of Khairpur on the east bank of the Indus. In one monastic cell "a well preserved white marble standing image of Buddha" was found.[14]

14. Sudheranjo-daro. A large stûpa (nearly three times the size of the one at Mirpur Khas), it is located in the Indus Delta near the town of Saidpur and the stûpa of Kuttehar. Numerous fragments of Buddhist statues and votive tablets have been found in the region.[15]

15. Tharro. A large number of mounds are located in this region of the Indus Delta near the village of Gujjo. One such site has yielded over a hundred Buddhist votive tablets. It is likely that some of these mounds, when properly excavated, will reveal a Buddhist monastic establishment.[16]

16. Thul Mir Rukan. Perhaps the best preserved and most impressive standing stûpa in Sind, it towers some sixty feet over the plains. Located eight miles southeast of Daulatpur on the east bank of the Indus, it is surrounded by smaller mounds, probably monasteries, and has yielded terracotta plaques

of the Buddha.[17]

17. Tor-Dherai. A stûpa and monastery located between Gumbaz and Duki in the Loralai District of Baluchistan. A relic case has been uncovered here along with a number of Kharosthi and Brahmi potsherds which indicate the dedication of a watering place for the local Sarvâstivâdin monastery by a certain Shâhi Yola Mîra.[18]

NOTES

[1]Not included in this list are sites where there is some doubt concerning their Buddhist nature. For example, T. H. Holdich ("Notes on Ancient and Mediaeval Makran," Geographical Journal 7 [April 1896]:399) refers to the caves of Gondrani (near Las Bela), "about which there is no room for conjecture, for they are clearly Buddhist, as can be told from their construction." However, Walter A. Fairservis Jr. (The Roots of Ancient India: The Archaeology of Early Indian Civilization, 2d ed., rev. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975], appendix 6: "The Gondrani Caves of Las Bela") argues that they clearly belong to the Muslim since they contain "no idol niches, remants of statues, characteristic architectural features" (p. 415). Other caves, which may or may not be Buddhist, are located at Sehwan (John Wilson, "Memoire on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries and Other Ancient Buddhist, Brâhmanical, and Jaina Remains of Western India," JBBRAS 3 [1850]:76-77) and Tîz-Mukrân (S. B. Miles, "Remains in Mekran," IA 2 [June 1873]:165-66).

[2]Cousens, p. 109; Taswir Husain Hamidi, "Remains of Hindu Buddhist Period in Sind," in Archaeology of Sind, ed. Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan (Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, 1975), pp. 11-12.

[3]Cousens, p. 59 and plates 5, 11; Hamidi, pp. 10-11; Gazetteer, B vol. 5: Nawabshah District, p. 24.

[4]N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, p. 35, is the only person to mention this stûpa. If his directions are correct, this is a different stûpa than Depar Ghangro, although both would be in the same general area.

[5]Cousens, p. 177; N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, p. 48; Hamidi, p. 12.

[6]PA 1 (1964):13-14.

[7]Cousens, pp. 107-9; Hamidi, pp. 11-12; Gazetteer, B vol. 1: Karachi District, pp. 54-55; H. B. E. Frere, "Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Sind," JBBRAS 5 (1854):349-62 and plate 5. Alexander Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, new rev. ed., with a Foreword by B. Ch. Chhabra, Introduction by Asim Kumar Chatterjee, and Additional Notes by Jamna Das Akhtar (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975), p. 242, located a Sanskrit inscription here, but could only decipher two words: putrasa and bhagavatasa.

[8] N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, pp. 5-18 and plates 13-14.

[9] Cousens, pp. 101, 106 and plate 21; Hamidi, p. 11.

[10] "Mari Sabar," p. 10.

[11] Cousens, pp. 82-97 and plates 19-27; Hamidi, p. 10; N. G. Majumdar, p. 23; Lohuizen, pp. 5-9; Gazetteer, B vol. 6: Thar and Parkar District, pp. 37-43; J. Burgess, Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency with an Appendix of Inscriptions from Gujarat, Archaeological Survey of Western India (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1885), p. 218; Debala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971), pp. 132-33; A. Woodburn, "Note on Brick Figures Found in a Buddhist Tower in Kahu, near Mirpur Khas, Sindh," JBBRAS 19 (1895-97): 44-46; Moti Chandra, "A Study in the Terracottas from Mirpurkhas," Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India 7 (1959-62):1-22.

[12] John Marshall, 1:113-30; 3: plates 15-17, 164, figs. 1-26. Rakal Das Banerji, "Mohen-jo-daro," ASI-AR, 1922-23, pp. 102-4, reports the find of a second stûpa and monastery along with three hundred white marble relic caskets.

[13] PA 1 (1964):10.

[14] Sahni, pp. 161-63.

[15] Cousens, pp. 100-6; N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, p. 22; Hamidi, p. 11; Lohuizen, p. 3; Gazetteer, B vol. 2: Hyderabad District, pp. 52-54; D. R. Bhandarkar, "Saidpur," pp. 89-96 and plates 56-59; "Remains of Buddhist Ornamental Architecture in Sinde," JBBRAS 5 (1857):688.

[16] N. G. Majumdar, Explorations, p. 21.

[17] Ibid., p. 34; Cousens, pp. 98-99 and plates 28-29; Burgess, p. 216; Hamidi, p. 11; Lohuizen, pp. 4-5; Gazetteer, B vol. 5: Nawabshah District, p. 28.

[18] Mark Aurel Stein, An Archaeological Tour in Wazîristân and Northern Balûchistân, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 37 (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929), pp. 64-70, figs. 22-28, plates 14-15, 17-19, and maps 6-7. Also see the appendix by Sten Konow, "Note on the Tôr-Ḍhêrai Inscriptions," pp. 93-97.

APPENDIX B

GOVERNORS AND RULERS OF ARAB SIND AND MUKRÂN

Umayyad Governors

93-96/711-14: Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Thaqafî

96-99/714-17: Joint governorship
Yazîd b. Abî Kabshah al-Saksakî, 96/714
^{c}Ubayd Allâh b. Abî Kabshah al-Saksakî, 96-97/714-15
Ḥabîb b. al-Muhallab al-Azdî, 96-99/714-17
^{c}Imrân b. al-Nu^{c}mân al-Kalâ^{c}î, 97-99/715-17

99/717: ^{c}Abd al-Malik b. Misma^{c} al-Shaybânî

99-101/717-19: ^{c}Amr b. Muslim al-Bâhilî

102-3/720-21: Hilâl b. Aḥwaz al-Tamîmî

103-4/721-22: ^{c}Ubayd Allâh b. ^{c}Alî al-Sulamî

104-10/722-28: al-Junayd b. ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmân al-Murrî

110-13/728-31: Tamîm b. Zayd al-Qaynî

113-20/731-37: al-Ḥakam b. ^{c}Awânah b. ^{c}Iyâḍ al-Kalbî

120-22/737-39: Muḥammad b. ^{c}Irâr b. Aws al-Kalbî (1st term)

122-26/739-43: ^{c}Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Thaqafî

126-29/743-46: Muḥammad b. ^{c}Irâr b. Aws al-Kalbî (2d term)

129-36/746-53: Manṣûr b. Jumhûr b. Ḥiṣn al-Kalbî

^{c}Abbâsid Governors

132-36/749-53: ^{c}Abbâsid attempts to take Sind
Ibrâhîm b. al-^{c}Abbâs b. ^{c}Umayr al-Dârimî, 132/749
Mughallis al-^{c}Abdî (or al-Tamîmî), 133/750
Mûsâ b. Ka^{c}b al-Tamîmî, 134-36/751-53

136-38/753-55: Mûsâ b. Ka^{c}b al-Tamîmî

138-43/755-60: ^{c}Uyaynah b. Mûsâ b. Ka^{c}b al-Tamîmî

143-51/760-68: ^{c}Umar b. Ḥafṣ Hazârmard al-Muhallabî

151/768: Jamîl b. Ṣakhr al-Muhallabî

151-57/768-73: Hishâm b. ^{c}Amr b. Bisṭâm al-Taghlibî
Bisṭam b. ^{c}Amr al-Taghlibî, 156-57/772-73 (his deputy in Sind)

157-59/773-75: Ma^{c}bad b. al-Khalîl al-Tamîmî

159/775: Muḥammad b. Ma^{c}bad al-Tamîmî (temporary replacement)

159-61/775-77: Rawḥ b. Ḥâtim b. Qabîṣah al-Muhallabî

161/777: Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash^{c}ath al-Khuzâ^{c}î (1st term)

161/777: Muḥammad b. Sulaymân b. ^{c}Alî al-Hâshimî
^{c}Abd al-Malik b. Shihâb al-Misma^{c}î (his deputy in Sind)

161-63/777-79: Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Khuzâ^{c}î (2d term)

163/779: al-Zubayr b. al-^{c}Abbâs b. ^{c}Abd Allâh al-Hâshimî (dismissed before reaching Sind)

163-64/779-80: Sufayḥ b. ^{c}Amr b. Bisṭâm al-Taghlibî

164-70/780-86: al-Layth b. Ṭarîf
Muḥammad b. al-Layth, 169/785 (his deputy in Sind)

171-74/787-90: Sâlim al-Yûnusî (or al-Burnusî)

174/790: Ibrâhîm b. Sâlim al-Yûnusî (temporary replacement)

174/790: Isḥâq b. Sulaymân b. ^{c}Alî al-Hâshimî

174-76/790-92: Ṭayfûr b. ^{c}Abd Allâh b. Manṣûr al-Ḥimyarî

175-76/791-92: Jâbir b. al-Ash^{c}ath b. Yaḥyâ al-Ṭâ'î (joint governorship with above)

176-78/792-94: Sa^{c}îd b. Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bâhilî
Kathîr b. Salm al-Bâhilî (his deputy in Sind)

179-81/795-97: ^{c}Îsâ b. Ja^{c}far b. Manṣûr al-Hâshimî
Muḥammad b. ^{c}Adî al-Taghlibî (his deputy in Sind)

181-82/797-98: ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmân b. Sulaymân (al-Hâshimî?)

182/798: cAbd Allâh b. cAlâ' al-Ḍabbî (temporary replacement)

183/799: Ayyûb b. Jacfar b. Sulaymân b. cAlî al-Hâshimî
(died before reaching Sind)

184-205/800-820: Dâ'ûd b. Yazîd b. Ḥâtim al-Muhallabî
al-Mughîrah b. Yazîd al-Muhallabî, 184/800
(his deputy in Sind)

205-16/820-31: Bishr b. Dâ'ûd b. Yazîd al-Muhallabî
Independent, 207-16/822-31

211-16/826-31: cAbbâsid attempts to retake Sind
Ḥâjib b. Ṣâliḥ, 211/826
Ghassân b. cAbbâd al-Muhallabî, 213-16/828-31

216-21/831-35: Mûsâ b. Yaḥyâ b. Khâlid al-Barmakî

221-27/835-41: cImrân b. Mûsâ b. Yaḥyâ al-Barmakî

227-35/841-49: cAnbasah b. Isḥâq al-Ḍabbî

235-40/849-54: Hârûn b. Abî Khâlid al-Marwadhî

Habbârids

(all dates approximate)

240-60/854-73: cUmar b. cAbd al-cAzîz b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥabbârî

260-70/873-83: cAbd Allâh b. cUmar b. cAbd al-cAzîz al-Habbârî

271-90/884-902: Mûsâ b. cUmar b. cAbd al-cAzîz al-Habbârî

290-300/902-12: Muḥammad b. cAbd Allâh b. cUmar al-Habbârî

300-330/912-41: cUmar b. cAbd Allâh b. cUmar al-Habbârî

330-40/941-51: Yaḥyâ b. Muḥammad b. cAbd Allâh al-Habbârî

340-400/951-1009: Unknown Habbârids

400-416/1009-25: Khafîf

Sâmids

(all dates approximate)

280-310/893-922: al-Munabbih b. Asad Abû al-Luhâb al-Sâmî

310-90/922-99: Unknown Sâmids

390-401/999-1010: Abû al-Futûḥ Dâ'ûd b. Naṣr

APPENDIX C

SINDÎ MUSLIMS

Nisbah-holders within Sind

1. ^cAbd al-Raḥîm b. Ḥammâd al-Thaqafî al-Sindî (d. ca. 180/796).[1] A traditionist who transmitted ḥadîth in Baṣrah on the authority (^can) of al-A^cmash (d. 148/765) and ^cAmr b. ^cUbayd al-Baṣrî (d. 144/761). The evidence for his Sindî origin comes from al-^cUqaylî whose grandfather informed him: "A great shaykh came to us from Sind reciting traditions on the authority of al-A^cmash and ^cAmr b. ^cUbayd" (qadima ^calaynâ min al-Sind shaykh kabîr yuḥaddithu ^can al-A^cmash wa ^cAmr b. ^cUbayd).[2] The text implies that he came to Baṣrah from Sind at a mature age since he was already at the time "a great shaykh." Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî briefly notes a certain ^cAbd al-Raḥîm al-Daybulî among such mystics as al-Ḥârith al-Muḥâsibî (d. 243/857), Ḥâtim al-Aṣamm al-Ṭâ'î (d. 237/851), and Shaqîq (d. 194/809).[3] If this is the same person as ^cAbd al-Raḥîm al-Sindî, then he was from Daybul in Sind and a mystic as well as a traditionist.[4]

2. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣâliḥ b. ^cAbd Rabbih Abû al-^cAbbâs al-Tamîmî al-Manṣûrî (d. ca. 380/990).[5] An imâm of the Dâ'ûdî madhhab, a qâḍî of Manṣûrah and elsewhere, and a minor traditionist. The evidence that he was from Manṣûrah in Sind

and actually resided there at a mature age is conclusive. Yâqût, writing about the Indus province of Sind, states: "They have a faqîh there named Abû al-ᶜAbbâs of the Dâ'ûdî madhhab. He is the author of numerous books of their legal school He was the qâḍî of Manṣûrah and one of its people."[6] Dhahabî also refers to him as the qâḍî from the people of Manṣûrah (al-qâḍî min ahl al-Manṣûrah) and is followed by Ibn Ḥajar.[7] Abû Isḥâq Ibrâhîm al-Shîrâzî is even more explicit: "He went to Baghdâd, studied, and returned to Manṣûrah" (kharaja ilâ Baghdâd wa-taᶜallama wa-ᶜâda ilâ al-Manṣûrah).[8] Moreover, the geographer Maqdisî (d. after 378/988) actually travelled to Sind where he encountered the qâḍî who was spreading his teachings in Manṣûrah in both written and verbal form.[9]

Abû al-ᶜAbbâs al-Manṣûrî studied traditions in Baṣrah with Abû Rawq al-Hizzânî (d. 332/943) and in Fârs with Abû al-ᶜAbbâs b. al-Athram (d. 336/947). However, his traditions from Abû Rawq are considered bâṭil ("baseless"), and the sources indicate that the fault was his and not Abû Rawq's.[10] His importance as an imâm of the Dâ'ûdî madhhab is evidenced by his inclusion in the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadîm who calls him "one of the most illustrious followers of Dâ'ûd. His books were splendid and excellent, large in size."[11] The titles of three (none of which have survived) are given: Kitâb miṣbâḥ kabîr ("The large book, The Lamp"), Kitâb al-hâdî ("The Guide"), and Kitâb al-nayyir ("The Shining").[12] Abû al-ᶜAbbâs was the qâḍî of Arrajân (in western Fârs) for a period of time and in 360/970 he travelled to Bukhârâ where he met al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî who

considered him "one of the most elegant of the ^c^ulamâ' I have met."[13]

3. ^c^Alî b. Mûsâ al-Daybulî (d. ca. 320/932).[14] A minor traditionist residing at Daybul in Sind. Very little is known of him except that he passed on a tradition, going back to Anas b. Mâlik and the Prophet, to Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Daybulî while in Daybul (bi-al-Daybul).[15] The plural form ḥaddathanâ ("he informed us") is used which could indicate multiple transmission of ḥadîth from ^c^Alî b. Mûsâ in Daybul and suggests an interest in the study of tradition in that town.

4. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥâmid b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥâmid b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥâmid b. al-Ḥasân b. Ḥâmid Abû Muḥammad al-Daybulî al-Baghdâdî (d. 407/1016).[16] A traditionist, poet, and merchant, primarily resident at Baghdâd. He studied with Da^c^laj (d. 351/962), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naqqâsh (d. 351/962), Abû ^c^Alî al-Ṭûmârî (d. 360/970), and ^c^Alî b. Muḥammad b. Sa^c^îd al-Mawṣilî (d. 359/969). However, he transmitted traditions only on the authority of al-Mawṣilî; his single student was Muḥammad b. ^c^Alî al-Ṣûrî (d. 441/1049). Evidence for his Sindî origin comes from the latter who was told by al-Ḥasan while in Egypt that he (al-Ḥasan) was originally from Daybul.[17] If this is indeed the case, then he came to Baghdâd at an early age since his teachers died between 351/962 and 360/970. The poet al-Mutanabbî', who died 354/965, used to stay with al-Ḥasan when visiting Baghdâd and once told him: "If I were to eulogize merchants, I would eulogize you."[18] Since al-Ḥasan must have been a relatively young man at the time, this suggests that

his wealth was inherited. He also founded the hospice named after himself, the Khân Ibn Ḥâmid, which was on the Darb al-Za^c^frânî in Baghdâd.[19] It has been suggested that "this inn also became a place of shelter for the poor and indigent, to whom free food and clothing were supplied . . . [and] a centre of theological studies and debates."[20] However, the primary sources give no indication of what activities were undertaken here, either theological or philanthropic (only the name is preserved). Indeed, al-Ḥasan was more noteworthy and influential as a poet and merchant than as a traditionist, and the assumption that "he took a great interest in religious studies and became an ardent pupil of famous traditionists of Baghdad"[21] is not warranted. His interest in tradition was relatively slight: he only passed on the traditions of one of his four teachers. Possibly on business, he travelled to Damascus and Egypt where he died in 407/1016.[22]

5. <u>Isrâ'îl b. Mûsâ Abû Mûsâ al-Baṣrî al-Sindî (d. ca. 155/771)</u>.[23] A traditionist of Baṣrah who immigrated to Sind during the late Umayyad period and hence became known as <u>nazîl al-Sind</u>.[24] He is the only major traditionist definitely known to have permanently immigrated to Sind during the Arab period. Isrâ'îl was primarily known as a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî (d. 110/728), although he also studied with Abû Ḥâzim al-Ashja^c^î (d. 115/733), Muḥammad b. Sîrîn (d. 110/728), and possibly Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 110/728). He transmitted traditions to Sufyân b. ^c^Uyaynah (d. 198/813), Yaḥyâ b. Sa^c^îd al-Qaṭṭân (d. 198/813), al-Ḥusayn b. ^c^Alî al-Ju^c^fî (d. 203/818), and

possibly Sufyân b. Sa^{c}îd al-Thawrî (d. 161/777).[25] Isrâ'îl was well-thought-of as a traditionist. He was considered *thiqah* ("trustworthy") by Abû Ḥâtim al-Râzî, Yaḥyâ b. Ma^{c}în, and Ibn Ḥibbân, while al-Nasâ'î added "there is no harm in him" (*laysa bihi ba's*).[26]

6. *Ja^{c}far b. al-Khaṭṭâb Abû Muḥammad al-Quṣdârî (d. ca. 440/1048)*.[27] A jurist (*faqîh*), ascetic (*zâhid*), and resident of Balkh who originally came from Quṣdâr (*huwa min al-Quṣdâr*).[28] He studied with Abû al-Faḍl ^{c}Abd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-^{c}Âṣimî and taught the *ḥâfiẓ* Abû al-Futûḥ ^{c}Abd al-Ghâfir b. al-Ḥusayn b. ^{c}Alî al-Kâshgharî (d. 474/1081).

7. *Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Mawâzînî al-Daybulî (d. ca. 360/970?)*.[29] A traditionist who received his initial education in Daybul (*bi-al-Daybul*) where he received a *ḥadîth* from ^{c}Alî b. Mûsâ al-Daybulî.[30] He settled in Baghdâd where he transmitted traditions to Abû al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ^{c}Imrân al-Jundî (d. 396/1005).[31] On the evidence of his *nisbah*, he may have been a maker or seller of scales (*mawâzîn*) who came to Baghdâd from Daybul in that capacity.

8. *Khalaf b. Sâlim Abû Muḥammad al-Sindî al-Mukharrimî al-Baghdâdî al-Muhallabî (162-231/778-845)*.[32] An extremely well-travelled traditionist, Qur'ân memorizer (*ḥâfiẓ*) and Qur'ân reciter (*mujawwid*). His Sindî origins are attested to by Dhahabî ("he was Sindî in origin," *kâna sindî al-aṣl*) and Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî ("he was Sindî," *kâna sindîyan*).[33] However, he must have arrived in Baghdâd at an early age since he, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855), and Yaḥyâ b. Ma^{c}în (158-233/774-847)

were singled out for instruction with Hushaym b. Bashîr al-Wâsiṭî (d. 183/799) at the same gathering (majlis).[34]

A list of his teachers and students reads like a who's who of the classical Muslim world. In addition to Hushaym, he recited traditions on the authority of ^{c}Abd Allâh b. Idrîs (d. 192/807), Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far Ghundar (d. 194/809), Abû Bakr b. ^{c}Ayyâsh (d. 193/808), Ismâ^{c}îl b. ^{c}Ulayyah (d. 193/808), ^{c}Abd al-Raḥmân b. Mahdî (d. 198/813), Ma^{c}n b. ^{c}Îsá al-Quzzâz (d. 198/813), Wahb b. Jarîr (d. 206/821), Yaḥyá b. Sa^{c}îd al-Qaṭṭân (d. 198/813), ^{c}Abd Allâh b. Numayr (d. 199/814), Sa^{c}d (d. 201/816) and Ya^{c}qûb (d. 203/818) the two sons of Ibrâhîm b. Sa^{c}d, Abû Aḥmad al-Zubayrî (d. 203/818), Yazîd b. Hârûn al-Wâsiṭî (d. 206/821), ^{c}Abd al-Razzâq b. Hammâm (d. 211/826), and Abû Nu^{c}aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (d. 219/834). Among his students were Ya^{c}qûb b. Shaybah (d. 262/875), Ḥâtim b. al-Layth al-Jawharî (d. 262/875), Abû Zur^{c}ah al-Râzî (d. 264/877), al-^{c}Abbâs b. Muḥammad al-Dûrî (d. 271/884), Ibn Abî Khaythamah (d. 279/892), ^{c}Uthmân b. Sa^{c}îd al-Dârimî (d. 280/893), Ja^{c}far b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayâlisî (d. 282/895), Ya^{c}qûb b. Yûsuf al-Maṭû^{c}î (d. 287/900), Aḥmad b. ^{c}Alî al-Abbâr (d. 290/902), Aḥmad b. ^{c}Alî al-Marwazî (d. 292/904), al-Ḥasan b. ^{c}Alî al-Ma^{c}marî (d. 295/907), Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ^{c}Abd al-Jabbâr al-Ṣûfî (d. 306/918), and Abû al-Qâsim al-Baghawî (d. 317/929).[35]

Khalaf al-Sindî was widely respected as a traditionist. His two famous contemporaries and colleagues, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Yaḥyá b. Ma^{c}în, spoke highly of him: the former indicating that "there is no doubt concerning his veracity (ṣidq)", while

the latter consided him sadûq ("truthful").[36] He compiled traditions concerning the equality of the Companions (musâwî al-sahâbah), although he did not transmit them.[37] He did, however, compile a Musnad which unfortunately is not extant.[38] His serious commitment to the study of traditions was proverbial. He is reported as saying, "If one thinks lightly of Tradition, Tradition will think lightly of him."[39]

9. Muhammad b. Sâlih al-Mansûrî (d. ca. 340/951).[40] A Dâ'ûdî jurist and father of the more famous Dâ'ûdî imâm Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Mansûrî. He is said to have been a ghulâm ("slave") of another Dâ'ûdî jurist, ᶜAlî b. Muhammad al-Baghdâdî, who manumitted him: "He studied on his [ᶜAlî b. Muhammad] authority in Baghdâd and then returned to Mansûrah" (akhadha ᶜan-hu bi-Baghdâd thumma ᶜâda ilâ al-Mansûrah).[41]

10. Najîh b. ᶜAbd al-Rahmân Abû Maᶜshar al-Sindî al-Madanî (d. 170/786).[42] Perhaps the best known Sindî traditionist and historian of the classical period. The evidence for his Sindî origin comes from his son Muhammad, a reliable traditionist in his own right, who states unequivocally: "My father was Sindî" (kâna abî sindîyan).[43] Moreover, he was a prisoner-of-war, black in complexion, and pronounced Arabic poorly (giving Muhammad b. Kaᶜb as Qaᶜb).[44] The defect in pronunciation would imply that he received his early education either in Sind or with non-Arabs. However, he must have come to Medina at an early age if the report that he saw Abû Imâmah b. Sahl b. Hanîf (d. 100/718) is correct.[45] Perhaps he was taken captive during the initial Thaqafite conquest of Sind (93-96/711-14) or during the gover-

norship over Sind by Ḥabîb b. al-Muhallab (96-99/714-17). The latter possibility is supported by a tradition that Najîḥ was taken captive during the time of Yazîd b. al-Muhallab, the famous brother of Ḥabîb.[46] Very little is known of his early life, except that he was a mukâtab slave (of a woman of the Banû Makhzûm) who purchased his freedom and then became a mawlâ of Umm Mûsâ bint Manṣûr al-Ḥimyarîyah (the mother of the caliph al-Mahdî).[47] When al-Mahdî visited Medina in 160/776, he presented Najîḥ with a gift of a thousand dinars and brought him back to Baghdâd where he served in an official capacity until his death in 170/786.[48] The new caliph Hârûn al-Rashîd delivered his funeral address.[49]

Najîḥ al-Sindî studied in Medina, receiving traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. Kaᶜb al-Quraẓî (d. 108/726 or 118/736), Nâfiᶜ (d. 117/735), Saᶜîd b. Abî Saᶜîd al-Maqburî (d. 123/740), Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir (d. 130/747), Hishâm b. ᶜUrwah b. al-Zubayr (d. ca. 146/763), and Muḥammad b. Qays. He transmitted his traditions to many of the leading traditionists of the time: Sufyân b. Saᶜîd al-Thawrî (d. 161/777), Hushaym b. Bashîr al-Wâsiṭî (d. 183/799), ᶜAbd Allâh b. Idrîs (d. 192/807), Wakîᶜ b. al-Jarrâḥ (d. 197/812), ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân b. Mahdî (d. 198/813), Abû Ḍamrah Anas b. ᶜIyâḍ (d. 200/815), Yazîd b. Hârûn al-Wâsiṭî (d. 206/821), Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar al-Wâqidî (d. 207/822), ᶜAbd al-Razzâq b. Hammâm (d. 211/826), Abû Nuᶜaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (d. 219/834), to mention only the more prominent. He was also the author of a highly regarded Kitâb al-Maghâzî on the early raids of Islam which has survived only in fragments

quoted by later writers.[50]

11. Yazîd b. ᶜAbd Allâh Abû Khâlid al-Baysarî al-Baṣrî (d. ca. 180/796).[51] A traditionist who transmitted on the authority of Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767), Sufyân al-Thawrî (d. 161/777), and others. He taught Abû Dâ'ûd al-Ṭayâlisî (d. 227/841) and Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr al-Muqqadamî (d. 234/848). According to Ibn Ḥibbân, Yazîd al-Baysarî actually came from Sind (aṣl-hu min al-Sind).[52] The nisbah refers to the Biyâsirah, a term applied to descendants of Muslims in India or Sind during the Arab period.[53]

Others

12. Abân b. Muḥammad Abû Bishr al-Bajalî al-Bazzâz al-Kûfî al-Sindî (d. ca. 250-60/864-73).[54] A Shîᶜite traditionist also known as al-Sindî b. Muḥammad.[55] He passed on the traditions of the tenth Shîᶜite Imâm ᶜAlî al-Hâdî (212-54/827-68), and taught, among others, Aḥmad b. Abî ᶜAbd Allâh Muḥammad al-Barqî (d. 274/887 or 280/893) and al-Ṣaffâr (d. 290/902). Abân was the author of a work entitled Kitâb al-nawâdir ("Book of Rare Forms") which is not extant.[56] On the evidence of his nisbahs, he was associated with Kûfah, Sind, the Bajîlah tribe, and the sale of cloth (bazzâz). According to Ṭûsî, he had a brother named ᶜAlî.[57]

13. ᶜAbbâs b. ᶜAbd Allâh b. ᶜAbbâs Abû al-Ḥârith al-Sindî al-Asadî al-Anṭâkî (d. ca. 260-70/873-83).[58] A traditionist also known as ᶜAbbâs b. al-Sindî.[59] He studied with

Sa^c^îd b. Manṣûr (d. 227/841), Muḥammad b. Kathîr al-Ṣan^c^ânî (d. 216/831), Muslim b. Ibrâhîm (d. 222/836), al-Haytham b. Jamîl al-Anṭâkî (d. 213/828), ^c^Alî b. al-Madînî (d. 234/848), Abû Walîd al-Ṭayâlisî (d. 217/832), and taught al-Nasâ'î (d. 303/915), Abû ^c^Awânah al-Isfarâ'inî (d. 316/928), and al-^c^Uqaylî (d. 322/933). He was considered "trustworthy" (thiqah) by Ibn Ḥibbân and Maslamah, and his student al-Nasâ'î asserted that "there is no objection to him."[60]

14. ^c^Abd Allâh b. Ja^c^far b. Murrah Abû Muḥammad al-Manṣûrî (d. ca. 370/908).[61] A black (aswad) traditionist and Qur'ân reciter (muqri') who followed the system of recital of al-Ḥasan b. Mukarram (d. 274/887) and taught al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî (d. 405/1014).

15. ^c^Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad al-Sindî al-Asadî al-Ṭarsûsî (d. 229/843).[62] A traditionist and proto-mystic who recited on the authority of Mu^c^âwîyah b. ^c^Amr al-Fazârî (d. 214/829) and taught the Ṣûfî Muḥammad b. Yûsuf b. Ma^c^dân.

16. ^c^Abd Allâh b. al-Sindî (d. ca. 190-200/805-15).[63] A traditionist and proto-mystic who was a student of Sufyân al-Thawrî (d. 161/777) and taught the mystic ^c^Abd Allâh b. Khubayq b. Sâbiq.

17. Abû ^c^Alî al-Sindî (d. ca. 230-40/844-54).[64] The controversial mystic who is said to have taught Abû Yazîd al-Bisṭâmî (d. 261/874 or 264/877) certain truths concerning divine unity (tawḥîd), ultimate truths (ḥaqâ'iq), and annihilation (fanâ').

18. Abû Ja^c^far al-Sindî (d. ca. 240/854).[65] A reputed

author of a book on traditions and the teacher of Abû Ibrâhîm cAbd Allâh al-Dakhfandûnî (d. 273/886).

19. Abû Muḥammad al-Daybulî (d. ca. 320-40/932-51).[66] A mystic who was with al-Junayd (d. 298/910) on his deathbed when the latter appointed Abû Muḥammad al-Jarîrî (d. 311-923) as his successor.

20. Abû Mûsâ al-Daybulî (d. ca. 280-90/893-902).[67] An important companion and disciple of Abû Yazîd al-Bisṭâmî (d. 261/874 or 264/877). According to Ibn al-Jawzî, he was the son of Bisṭâmî's sister.[68]

21. Aḥmad b. cAbd Allâh b. Sacîd Abû al-cAbbâs al-Daybulî (d. 343/954).[69] A prominent mystic and traditionist. Samcânî details his wide-ranging journey (riḥlah) in pursuit of traditions (fî-ṭalab al-cilm), encompassing Baṣrah, Baghdâd, Mecca, Egypt, Damascus, Beirut, Ḥarrân, Tustar, cAskar Mukram, and Nîshâpûr.[70] He passed on traditions on the authority of Abû Jacfar Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm al-Daybulî (d. 322/933), al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Janadî (d. 308/920), Abû Khalîfah al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubâb (d. 305/917), Jacfar b. Muḥammad al-Firyâbî (d. 301/913), Aḥmad b. cUmayr b. Jawṣâ (d. 320/932), Abû cArûbah al-Ḥusayn b. Abî Macshar (d. 318/930), cAbdân b. Aḥmad b. Mûsâ al-cAskarî (d. 306/918), and Muḥammad b. Isḥâq b. Khuzaymah (d. 311/923). He settled in Nîshâpûr where he joined the khânaqâh (Ṣûfî hospice) of al-Ḥasan b. Yacqûb al-Ḥaddâd (d. 336/947) and became particularly renowned as an ascetic (min al-zuhhâd al-fuqarâ' al-cubbâd), walking barefoot among the people while dressed in wool (ṣûf).[71] While resident at Nîshâpûr, he taught

the young al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî (321-404/933-1013).

22. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abû al-cAbbâs al-Daybulî al-Zâhid al-Khayyâṭ (d. 373/983).[72] A Shâficite jurist and ascetic, Abû al-cAbbâs resided in Egypt where he earned his living sewing shirts.[73] As a jurist, he was considered "very knowledgeable in the jurisprudence of the Shâficite legal system" (jayyid al-macrifah bi-al-fiqh calâ madhhab al-Shâficî);[74] as an ascetic, he was considered "one of the possessors of states and unveilings, external miracles and sublime states" (min arbâb al-aḥwâl wa-al-mukâshafât lahu karâmât ẓâhirah wa-aḥwâl sanîyah).[75] Two of his students, the mystics Abû al-cAbbâs al-Nasawî (d. 396/1005)[76] and Abû Sacîd al-Mâlînî (d. 412/1021), were present at his death-bed.

23. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Sindî Abû al-Fawâris al-Ṣâbûnî al-Buḥturî al-Miṣrî (244-349/858-960).[77] A traditionist residing in Egypt. He studied with al-Muzanî (d. 264/877), Yûnus b. cAbd al-Aclâ (d. 264/877), and Muḥammad b. Ḥammâd al-Ṭihrânî (d. 271/884). He was charged, however, with spreading baseless (bâṭil) traditions from the latter.[78]

24. Aḥmad b. al-Qâsim b. Sîmâ Abû Bakr al-Bayc, known as Ibn al-Sindî (d. ca. 375/985).[79] A resident of Baghdâd who recited traditions on the authority of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismâcîl al-Âdamî (d. 327/938) and Ismâcîl b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaffâr (d. 341/952). He also functioned as a bayc (merchant middleman) and mucaddil (investigator into the trustworthiness of witnesses for a judge).[80]

25. Aḥmad b. al-Sindî al-Baghî al-Râzî (d. ca. 240/854).[81]

A traditionist of Rayy who recited on the authority of Ibrâhîm b. Mûsá and taught Abû Ḥâtim al-Râzî (d. 277/890).

26. Aḥmad b. Sindî b. Farrûkh al-Muṭarriz al-Baghdâdî (d. ca. 290-300/902-12).[82] A student in traditions of Ya^{c}qûb b. Ibrâhîm al-Dawraqî (d. 252/866), he moved from Baghdâd to Baṣrah later in his life where ^{c}Abd Allâh b. ^{c}Adî al-Jurjânî (277-360/890-970) heard from him. His nisbah suggests that he was an embroiderer (muṭarriz).

27. Aḥmad b. al-Sindî b. al-Ḥasan b. Baḥr Abû Bakr al-Ḥaddâd al-Jidârî (d. 359/969).[83] A traditionist and mystic who resided at Baghdâd. He studied with Muḥammad b. al-^{c}Abbâs al-Mu'addib (d. 290.902), Mûsá b. Hârûn al-Bazzâz (d. 294/906), al-Ḥusayn b. ^{c}Ulwîyah al-Qaṭṭân (d. 298/910), Ja^{c}far al-Firyâbî (d. 301/913), and Abû al-Qâsim al-Baghawî (d. 317/929). He taught Ibn Rizqwayh (d. 412/1021), Abû ^{c}Alî b. Shâdhân (d. 426/1034), and Abû Nu^{c}aym al-Iṣfahânî (d. 430/1038) who quotes him frequently in the Ḥilyat al-awliyâ'.[84] As a traditionist, he was considered trustworthy (thiqah) and truthful (ṣadûq);[85] as a mystic, he was deemed one of the abdâl ("substitutes") whose prayers were answered (mujâb al-da^{c}wah).[86]

28. ^{c}Alî b. ^{c}Abd Allâh b. al-Sindî al-Ṭarsûsî (d. ca. 290-300/902-12).[87] In the year 346/957, Muḥammad b. ^{c}Îsá b. ^{c}Abd al-Karîm al-Ṭarsûsî settled in Baghdâd and recited traditions of Ṭarsûs on the authority of ^{c}Alî b. ^{c}Abd Allâh b. al-Sindî. Unfortunately, nothing else is known of this traditionist.

29. ^{c}Alî b. Banân b. al-Sindî al-^{c}Âqûlî (d. ca. 290-

300/902-12).[88] A traditionist from Dayr al-ᶜÂqûl who recited on the authority of Yaᶜqûb b. Ibrâhîm al-Dawraqî (d. 252/866) and Aḥmad b. al-Maqdâm Abû al-Ashᶜath al-ᶜIjlî (d. 253/867).

30. ᶜAlî b. al-Sindî (d. ca. 260-70/873-83).[89] A trustworthy (thiqah) Shîᶜite traditionist who recited on the authority of al-Sindî b. al-Rabîᶜ and Ḥammâd b. ᶜÎsâ al-Juharî (d. 209/824).

31. Dâ'ûd b. Muḥammad b. Abî Maᶜshar Najîḥ al-Sindî (d. ca. 280-90/893-902).[90] A scion of the Abû Maᶜshar al-Sindî family, Dâ'ûd studied under his more famous father Muḥammad (d. 247/861), and is quoted by Aḥmad b. Kâmil b. Khalaf al-Baghdâdî (d. 350/961).

32. al-Faḍl b. Sukayn b. Suhayt Abû al-ᶜAbbâs al-Qaṭîᶜî, known as al-Sindî (d. ca. 270/883).[91] A black (aswad) traditionist of Baghdâd who studied under Ṣâliḥ b. Bayân al-Sâḥilî. He is primarily known as the shaykh ("teacher") of Abû Yaᶜlâ al-Mawṣilî (d. 307/919), but he also taught Muḥammad b. Mûsâ b. Ḥammâd al-Barbarî (d. 294/906), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bâghandî (d. 312/924), and Ibrâhîm b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Mukharrimî (d. 304/916).

33. al-Fatḥ b. ᶜAbd Allâh Abû Naṣr al-Sindî (d. ca. 340-50/951-61).[92] A manumitted slave and client (mawlâ) of the family of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥakam, he studied fiqh and kalâm with the Shâfiᶜite jurist Abû ᶜAlî Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Wahhâb al-Thaqafî (d. 328/939) and traditions with another Shâfiᶜite al-Ḥasan b. Sufyân al-Nasawî (d. 303/915).

34. Hâni' al-Sindî al-Kûfî (d. ca. 170-80/786-96).[93]

A Shî^cite <u>mawlâ</u> of Isḥâq b. ^cAmmâr b. Yazîd al-Kûfî and a Companion of the sixth Imâm Ja^cfar al-Ṣâdiq (d. 148/765).

35. <u>Ḥubaysh b. Sindî al-Qaṭî^cî (d. ca. 280/893)</u>.[94] A minor traditionist who transmitted on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and taught Muḥammad b. Makhlad (d. 331/942).

36. <u>al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abî Ma^cshar Najîḥ Abû Bakr al-Sindî (d. 275/888)</u>.[95] A traditionist who recited on the authority of his father Muḥammad (d. 247/861), Wakî^c b. al-Jarrâḥ (d. 197/812), and Muḥammad b. Rabî^cah (d. 199/814). He was generally considered unreliable in traditions, although a group did recite on his authority, including Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakîmî (d. 336/947) and Abû ^cAmr b. al-Simâk (d. 344/955).

37. <u>al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Asad Abû al-Qâsim al-Daybulî (d. ca. 360/970)</u>.[96] He was in the city of Damascus in the year 340/951 transmitting traditions on the authority of Abû Ya^clâ al-Mawṣilî (d. 307/919). Tammâm (b. Muḥammad al-Râzî? d. 414/1023) recited traditions on his authority.

38. <u>Ibrâhîm b. ^cAlî b. al-Sindî Abû Isḥâq al-Iṣbahânî (d. 313/925)</u>.[97] Also known as Ibrâhîm al-Sindî and Ibrâhîm b. al-Sindî, he was a traditionist who studied with Muḥammad b. ^cAbd Allâh b. Yazîd al-Muqrî and taught Sulaymân b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarânî (d. 360/970) and Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah (d. 353/964).

39. <u>Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm b. ^cAbd Allâh al-Daybulî (d. ca. 340-50/951-61)</u>.[98] The son of Abû Ja^cfar Muḥammad (d. 322/933), Ibrâhîm was also a traditionist, reciting on the authority of Muḥammad b. ^cAlî b. Zayd al-Ṣâ'igh (d. ca. 291/903)

and Mûsâ b. Hârûn al-Bazzâz (d. 294/906).[99]

40. Ibrâhîm b. al-Sindî b. Shâhak (d. ca. 240/854).[100] A distinguished scion of the Sindî b. Shâhak family whose father had been a mawlâ of the caliphs al-Manṣûr (136-58/754-75) and Hârûn al-Rashîd (170-93/786-809), serving in important posts such as head of the police force, governor of Syria, and head of the mint.[101] Ibrâhîm is primarily known from the writings of his friend al-Jâḥiẓ (d. 250/864) who describes him in glowing terms as a preacher, genealogist, jurist, poet, scribe, astrologer, traditionist, physician, and theologian.[102] His polymath abilities were used in defense of the cAbbâsid cause.[103] Unlike his brother Naṣr b. al-Sindî, Ibrâhîm passed on traditions different than those of al-Haytham b. cAdî (d. 206/821) and Ibn al-Kalbî (d. 204/819) with whom he disagreed.[104]

41. Ibrâhîm b. al-Sindî al-Kûfî (d. ca. 170-80/786-96).[105] A Shîcite traditionist who was a Companion of the sixth Imâm Jacfar al-Ṣâdiq (d. 148/765).

42. cÎsâ Abû al-Faraj al-Sindî (d. ca. 170-80/786-96).[106] A Shîcite traditionist who was a Companion of the sixth Imâm Jacfar al-Ṣâdiq (d. 148/765) and taught Aḥmad b. Rubbâḥ. He was the author of a book, the subject of which is unknown.

43. Ismâcîl b. al-Sindî Abû Ibrâhîm al-Khallâl (d. ca. 270/883).[107] A traditionist who recited on the authority of Salm b. Ibrâhîm al-Warrâq and Bishr b. al-Ḥârith al-Ḥâfî (d. 227/841) and taught Muḥammad b. Makhlad (d. 331/942).

44. Khallâd al-Sindî al-Bazzâz al-Kûfî (d. ca. 170-80/786-96).[108] A Shîcite traditionist who was a Companion of the

sixth Imâm Ja^c^far al-Ṣâdiq (d. 148/765). His nisbahs suggest that he was a Sindî cloth salesman (bazzâz) in Kûfah.

45. Manṣûr b. Muḥammad Abû al-Qâsim al-Sindî al-Muqri' al-Warrâq al-Iṣbahânî, known as Ibn al-Sindî (d. 386/996).[109] A Qur'ân reciter (muqri') and copyist (warrâq) residing at Iṣfahân, he followed the system of recitation of ^c^Alî b. al-Ḥasan al-Shimshâṭî and taught Abû al-Faḍl al-Khuzâ^c^î (d. 408/1017).

46. Muḥammad b. ^c^Abd Allâh Abû ^c^Abd Allâh al-Daybulî (d. ca. 225/839).[110] A Qur'ân reciter (muqri') and ascetic (zâhid), he recited the Qur'ân on the authority of ^c^Abd al-Razzâq b. al-Ḥasan and al-Sakan b. Bakruwayh, and taught the ascetic Muḥammad b. Manṣûr al-^c^Âbid al-Ṭûsî (d. 254/868).

47. Muḥammad b. Abî Ma^c^shar Najîḥ Abû ^c^Abd al-Malik al-Sindî (148-247/765-861).[111] A traditionist like his father Abû Ma^c^shar Najîḥ (d. 170/786), Muḥammad studied as a boy in Medina with Ibn Abî Dhi'b (d. 159/775) before moving with his father to Baghdâd in 160/776. Here he spent the remainder of his long life, studying under his father and Abû Bakr al-Hudhalî (d. 167/783), and teaching Abû Ḥâtim al-Râzî (d. 277/890), Abû ^c^Îsá al-Tirmidhî (d. 279/892), Ibn Abî al-Dunyá (d. 281/894), Abû Ya^c^lá al-Mawṣilî (d. 307/919), and al-Ṭabarî (d. 310/922).

48. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (or Muḥammad) b. ^c^Abd Allâh Abû al-^c^Abbâs al-Warrâq al-Zâhid al-Daybulî (d. 345/956 or 346/957).[112] A traditionist, ascetic (zâhid), and, on the evidence of the nisbah, a copyist (warrâq), he studied under Abû Khalîfah al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubâb (d. 305/917), Ja^c^far b. Muḥammad al-Firyâbî

(d. 301/913), ᶜAbdân b. Aḥmad b. Mûsâ al-ᶜAskarî (d. 306/918), and Muḥammad b. ᶜUthmân b. Abî Suwayd.[113] He taught al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî (d. 405/1014). His stature as a mystic is evidenced by the fact that the renowned Ṣûfî Abû ᶜAmr Ismâᶜîl b. Nujayd al-Sulamî (d. 365/975) conducted his funeral services.[114]

49. <u>Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Abû Bakr al-Shâmî al-Daybulî (d. ca. 350-60/961-70).</u>[115] A trustworthy (<u>thiqah</u>) Qur'ân reciter who studied under Jaᶜfar b. Ḥamdân al-Nîsâbûrî (d. 339/950) and taught ᶜAlî b. ᶜUmar al-Dâraquṭnî (d. 385/995).

50. <u>Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm b. ᶜAbd Allâh Abû Jaᶜfar al-Daybulî al-Makkî (d. 322/933).</u>[116] A traditionist and specialist in the Qur'ânic sciences who resided at Mecca. He studied the <u>Kitâb al-tafsîr</u> ("Commentary") of Sufyân b. ᶜUyaynah under Saᶜîd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân al-Makhzûmî (d. 249/863) and the <u>Kitâb al-birr wa-al-ṣilah</u> ("Book of Piety and Charity") of ᶜAbd Allâh b. al-Mubârak under al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb al-Marwazî (d. 246/860).[117] Among others, he taught his compatriot Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd Allâh b. Saᶜîd al-Daybulî (d. 343/954) and Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm b. ᶜAlî al-Muqri' (d. 381/991).

51. <u>Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajâ' b. al-Sindî Abû Bakr al-Isfarâ'inî al-Jurjânî (206-86/821-99).</u>[118] A reputable traditionist and Qur'ân memorizer (<u>ḥâfiẓ</u>) of Isfarâ'in and Jurjân. He studied with his grandfather Rajâ' b. al-Sindî (d. 221/835), ᶜAlî b. al-Madînî (d. 234/848), Abû Bakr b. Abî Shaybah (d. 235/849), Isḥâq b. Râhwayh (d. 238/852), and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). Among others, he taught Abû Ḥâmid b. al-Sharqî (d. 315/927) and Abû ᶜAwânah al-Isfarâ'inî (d. 316/928).

52. Muḥammad b. Rajâ' b. al-Sindî Abû ᶜAbd Allâh al-Nîsâbûrî (d. ca. 240-50/854-64).[119] Another member of the Rajâ' b. al-Sindî family, Muḥammad was himself a traditionist of Nîshâpûr and Isfarâ'in, studying under al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 203/818) and Makkî b. Ibrâhîm al-Balkhî (d. 215/830). Reciting traditions on his authority were his son Muḥammad (d. 286/899), Ibn Abî al-Dunyâ (d. 281/894), and Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Marthadî (d. 280/893 or 285/898).

53. Muḥammad b. al-Sindî al-Anṭâkî (d. ca. 230-40/844-54).[120] He is given as a source for a tradition of the mystic Yûsuf b. Asbâṭ (d. ca. 195/810).

54. Mûsâ b. al-Sindî Abû Muḥammad al-Jurjânî al-Bakrâbâdhî (d. ca. 240-50/854-64).[121] A trustworthy (thiqah) traditionist of Jurjân who recited on the authority of Wakîᶜ b. al-Jarrâḥ (d. 197/812) and Abû Muᶜâwîyah al-Ḍarîr (d. 195/810).

55. Naṣr b. al-Sindî b. Shâhak (d. ca. 230/844).[122] A historian and traditionist whose interpretations varied from those of his more famous brother Ibrâhîm.

56. Naṣr Allâh b. Aḥmad b. al-Qâsim b. al-Sîmâ Abû al-Ḥasan, known as Ibn al-Sindî (d. 433/1041).[123] Like his father Aḥmad (also known as Ibn al-Sindî), Naṣr Allâh was a traditionist and merchant residing in Baghdâd. He is known primarily as the teacher of the Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî (d. 463/1070) who considered him truthful (ṣadûq).

57. Rajâ' b. al-Sindî Abû Muḥammad al-Nîsâbûrî al-Isfarâ'inî (d. 221/835).[124] Rajâ', his son Abû ᶜAbd Allâh Muḥammad, and his grandson Abû Bakr Muḥammad were all considered

trustworthy (thiqah) and reliable (thabat) traditionists by al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî.[125] Rajâ' recited traditions on the authority of Abû Bakr b. ᶜAyyâsh (d. 193/808), ᶜAbd Allâh b. al-Mubârak (d. 181/797), Sufyân b. ᶜUyaynah (d. 198/813), ᶜAbd Allâh b. Idrîs (d. 192/807), and others. Among his students were his son and grandson as well as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Abû Ḥâtim al-Râzî (d. 277/890), Ibrâhîm b. Mûsâ al-Râzî (d. 231/845), and Ibn Abî al-Dunyâ (d. 281/894). He was considered one of the pillars of tradition (rukn min arkân al-ḥadîth) by al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî.[126]

58. Rajâ' b. Yûsuf al-Sindî (d. ca. 240-50/854-64).[127] A traditionist who was a student of Wakîᶜ b. al-Jarrâḥ (d. 197/812) and a teacher of Abû Bakr b. ᶜUbayd.

59. Ṣâliḥ b. al-Sindî (d. ca. 240-50/854-64).[128] A Shîᶜite traditionist who recited on the authority of Yûnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân (d. 208/823). He was the author of a book of undetermined subject and title.

60. Sîbawayh b. Ismâᶜîl b. Dâ'ûd b. Abî Dâ'ûd Abû Dâ'ûd al-Wâḥidî al-Quzdârî (d. ca. 460/1067).[129] A resident of Mecca who recited traditions on the authority of Abû al-Qâsim ᶜAlî b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allâh al-Ḥusaynî, Abû al-Fatḥ Rajâ' b. ᶜAbd al-Wâḥid al-Iṣbahânî, and Abû al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyâ b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥakân. He taught Abû al-Fityân ᶜUmar b. Abî al-Ḥasan ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Rawwâsî (d. 503/1109).[130]

61. Sindî Abû Bakr al-Khawâtîmî (d. ca. 260/873).[131] A traditionist and student of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), whom he attended when the latter returned home in 219/834 after being

scourged during the inquisition (miḥnah).

62. al-Sindî b. Abân Abû Naṣr (d. 281/894).[132] A slave (ghulâm) of the Baghdâdî scholar Khalaf b. Hishâm al-Bazzâz (d. 229/843), he received traditions from Yaḥyâ b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamîd al-Ḥimmânî (d. 230/844) and taught ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad b. ᶜAlî al-Ṭastî (d. 346/957).

63. al-Sindî b. ᶜAbduwayh Abû al-Haytham al-Dahakî al-Dhuhlî al-Râzî al-Kalbî (d. ca. 220/835).[133] A traditionist also known as Sahl (or Suhayl) b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân al-Dhuhlî al-Sindî,[134] Sahl b. ᶜAbduwayh al-Râzî,[135] and even Sahl b. ᶜAbd al-Rabbih al-Râzî.[136] Although Muhammad Ishaq has seen two different traditionists here (supplying each with separate dates of death), it is apparent that we are concerned here with only one individual.[137] The confusion is cleared up by Ibn Abî Ḥâtim al-Râzî: "Sindî b. ᶜAbduwayh, his ism was Sahl b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân, he was called Sahl b. ᶜAbduwayh, and his kunyah was Abû al-Haytham al-Kalbî."[138] Abû al-Haytham was a prominent traditionist of Rayy and served as qâḍî of the towns of Hamadhân and Qazwîn. One of the ahl al-ḥadîth ("partisans of tradition"),[139] he transmitted traditions on the authority of Abû Maᶜshar Najîḥ al-Sindî (d. 170/786), Abû Uways al-Aṣbahî (d. 169/785), Ibrâhîm b. Ṭaḥmân (d. 158/774), Mindal b. ᶜAlî (d. 167/783 or 168/784), Jarîr b. Ḥâzim (d. 170/786), and Zuhayr b. Muᶜâwîyah (d. 173/789). Among his numerous students were ᶜAmr b. Râfiᶜ (d. 237/851), Muḥammad b. Ziyâd al-Râzî (d. 257/870), Aḥmad b. al-Furât (d. 258/871), and Muḥammad b. Ḥammâd al-Ṭihrânî (d. 271/884). His contemporary Abû Walîd al-Ṭayâlisî (d. 217/832) considered him

one of the two most knowledgeable traditionists in Rayy.[140]

64. Sindî b. Abî Hârûn (d. ca. 190-200/805-15).[141] A traditionist who was primarily known as the teacher (shaykh) of Musaddad (d. 228/842), although he also taught Aḥmad b. Sa^cîd al-Dârimî (d. 253/867). He was an associate of ^cAbd Allâh b. al-Mubârak (d. 181/797).

65. Sindî b. ^cÎsâ al-Hamdânî al-Kûfî (d. ca. 220/835).[142] A trustworthy (thiqah) Shî^cite traditionist and author of a book of unknown title and contents. ^cAbbâd b. Ya^cqûb (d. 250/864) transmitted traditions on his authority.

66. al-Sindî b. al-Rabî^c b. Muḥammad al-Kûfî al-Baghdâdî (d. ca. 250-60/864-73).[143] A trustworthy Shî^cite traditionist who transmitted the traditions of the eighth Imâm ^cAlî al-Riḍâ (d. 203/818) and the eleventh Imâm al-Ḥasan al-^cAskarî (d. 260/873). Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrûkh al-Ṣaffâr (d. 290/902) transmitted traditions on his authority. He was the author of a book which has not survived.

67. Sindî b. Shamâs al-Simân al-Baṣrî (d. ca. 150-60/767-76).[144] A resident of Baṣrah who transmitted traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. Sîrîn (d. 110/728) and ^cAṭâ' (al-Sulamî al-Baṣrî? d. 121/738). He taught Ḥawtharah b. al-Ashras and Mûsâ b. Ismâ^cîl al-Tabûdhkî al-Baṣrî (d. 213/828).

68. Suhayl b. Dhakwân Abû al-Sindî al-Makkî al-Wâsiṭî (d. ca. 150-60/767-76).[145] A traditionist from Mecca, Suhayl settled down at Wâsiṭ where he transmitted traditions allegedly from ^cAbd Allâh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73/692) and ^cÂ'ishah (d. 58/677). He claimed that he had actually met the latter at Wâsiṭ

and that she possessed a dark complexion.[146] Since most reliable authorities say that she was fair of complexion and she died before al-Ḥajjâj built Wâsiṭ (ca. 83-84/702-3), Abû al-Sindî was generally accused of being a liar (kadhdhâb).[147] Nevertheless, some prominent traditionists were among his students: Hushaym b. Bashîr al-Wâsiṭî (d. 183/799), Yazîd b. Hârûn al-Wâsiṭî (d. 206/821), and Marwân b. Muᶜâwîyah al-Fazârî (d. 193/808).

69. Suḥaym al-Sindî (d. ca. 180/796).[148] A Shîᶜite traditionist and Companion of the sixth Imâm Jaᶜfar al-Ṣâdiq (d. 148/765). He taught Muḥammad b. Sinân (d. 220/835).

70. ᶜUthmân al-Sindî (d. ca. 340-50/951-61).[149] A student of the famous Shâfiᶜite jurist Abû al-ᶜAbbâs b. Surayj (d. 306/918).

NOTES

[1]Dhahabî, Mîzân, 2:603-4 (no. 5026).

[2]Ibid., 2:603.

[3]Cited in Mubârakpûrî, Futûḥât, pp. 292-93.

[4]Rather than postulate an additional ^{c}Abd al-Raḥîm with the same general dates, the two have been considered identical solely for the purposes of this study.

[5]Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:141 (no. 556); Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 1: 272 (no. 830); Sam^{c}ânî, fol. 543-543b; Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, 3: 263; Yâqût, 3:166; Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:532; Maqdisî, p. 481; Ibn al-Qaysarânî, al-Ansâb al-muttafiqah, ed. P. de Jong (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1865), p. 154; Abû Isḥâq Ibrâhîm al-Shîrâzî, Ṭabaqât al-fuqahâ', ed. Aḥsân ^{c}Abbâs (Beirut: Dâr al-Râ'id al-^{c}Arabah, 1970), p. 178.

[6]Yâqût, 3:166.

[7]Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:141; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 1:272.

[8]Shîrâzî, p. 178.

[9]Maqdisî, p. 481. While he calls him Abû Muḥammad al-Manṣûrî (not Abû al-^{c}Abbâs), his description is definitely of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.

[10]Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:141; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 1:272. While M. Pathan ("Arabic Literature," p. 118) asserts that Sam^{c}ânî charged al-Manṣûrî with "fabricating Hadith in order to form a halqa of his own." While Sam^{c}ânî makes no such charges (not even noting the bâṭil al-ḥadîth), it is likely that the fabrication referred to by Dhahabî and Ibn Ḥajar was for the Dâ'ûdî madhhab.

[11]Ibn al-Nadîm, text, 1:218, trans. Dodge, 1:532.

[12]Ibid. Shîrâzî (p. 178) mentions only the Kitâb al-nayyir.

[13]Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 1:272. Sam^{c}ânî (fol. 543b) gives the statement without attributing it to al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî which has led ^{c}Abd al-Ḥayy (1:100) and N. A. Baloch ("Education,"

pp. 61-62) to conclude that Sam^cânî (d. 562/1166) actually met al-Manṣûrî (d. ca. 280/990).

[14]Sam^cânî, fol. 236b; Khaṭîb, 8:133.

[15]Khaṭîb, 8:133.

[16]Ibid., 7:303-4 (no. 3817); Ibn al-Jawzî, Muntaẓam, 7:181-82 (no. 290); Ibn ^cAsâkir, al-Ta'rîkh al-kabîr, ed. ^cAbd al-Qâdir Badrân, 4 vols. (Damascus: Rawḍat al-Shâm, 1329-31/1911-12), 4:159.

[17]Khaṭîb, 7:304 (wa-aṣl-hu Daybul sama^ctu min-hu bi-Miṣr).

[18]Ibid.; Ibn ^cAsâkir, 4:159.

[19]Ibid. Pathan ("Arabic Literature," p. 119) reads the text as khân-i Ḥâmid (rendering the Arabic as Persian) and concludes that al-Ḥasan named the Khân after his father.

[20]Pathan, ibid., p. 119.

[21]Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 35-36, suggests that al-Ḥasan "was so devotedly attached to Ḥadîth that he would weep while narrating it" and is followed by Pathan, Mansurah, p. 150, "such was his passion for Hadith, that whenever he would recite any Hadith, he would burst into tears." This anecdote would appear to be based on a misreading of Khaṭîb, 7:304: "al-Ṣûrî informed us that al-Ḥasan b. Ḥâmid informed us . . . saying: ^cAlî b. Muḥammad b. Sa^cîd al-Mawṣilî told us that al-Ḥasan b. ^cUlayl al-^cAnzî informed us that ^cAbd al-^cAzîz b. Maslamah b. Qa^cnab, the brother of ^cAbd Allâh b. Maslamah, related to us--and we did not hear from him except for this little amount, and he used to recite ḥadîth and weep--he said ^cAbd al-^cAzîz b. Abî Ḥâzim related to us on the authority of his father . . ." etc. The little amount of tradition and weeping would seem to refer not to al-Hasan but to ^cAbd al-^cAzîz b. Maslamah who did not, in fact, pass on many traditions.

[22]Ibn ^cAsâkir, 4:159: "He settled in Damascus and recited ḥadîth there and in Egypt." On the basis of this single sentence, Ishaq (Hadith Literature, pp. 35-36) has concluded: "His erudition in the science of tradition may be conceived from this that he went to Damascus and Egypt to lecture on Ḥadîth." As stated, al-Ḥasan was more renowned as a poet than as a traditionist.

[23]Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:208 (no. 819); Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb,

1:261 (no. 495); Sam[c]ânî, fol. 593; Tabarî, 3:2491; Ibn Abî Hâtim, 1, i:329-30 (no. 1257); Abû Nu[c]aym al-Isfahânî, Hilyat al-awliyâ' wa-tabaqât al-asfiyâ', 10 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khânjî, 1351-57/1932-38), 7:288.

24 Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:208, reads nazîl al-Sind although Ibn Hajar, Tahdhîb, 1:261, has nazîl al-Hind.

25 According to Ibn Hajar, Tahdhîb, 1:261, al-Azdî maintained that it was Abû Mûsâ al-Yamânî and not Abû Mûsâ al-Basrî who recited traditions from Wahb b. Munabbih and to Sufyân al-Thawrî. This is certainly the case in an isnâd given by Abû Nu[c]aym (compare 4:72 with 7:288).

26 Ibn Hajar, 1:261.

27 Sam[c]ânî, fol. 455b; Ibn al-Athîr, Lubab, 3:41.

28 Sam[c]ânî, fol. 455b.

29 Ibid., fol. 236b; Khatîb, 8:333 (no. 4427).

30 Khatîb, 8:333.

31 A certain amount of confusion has arisen from Khatîb (ibid.) who gives as Khalaf's student Abû al-Hasan b. al-Jundî and later, in an isnâd, Ahmad b. [c]Imrân. Citing this passage of Khatîb (8:333), Ishaq (Hadith Literature, pp. 34-35) lists two students of Khalaf: Abû al-Husayn [sic] b. al-Jundî and Ahmad b. [c]Umayr [sic], apparently misreading [c]Imrân as [c]Umayr. M. Pathan (Mansurah, p. 150), strangely since his source here is also Khatîb, has the same two names of traditionists who "acquired much of their knowledge on Hadith" from Khalaf. Khatîb's reference, however, would appear to be to Abû al-Hasan Ahmad b. Muhammad b. [c]Imrân al-Jundî (see 5:77, no. 2464). In any case, there is no evidence that even Ibn al-Jundî obtained much of his knowledge of hadîth from Khalaf.

32 Khatîb, 8:328-30 (no. 4418); Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:660-61 (no. 2540); Idem, Tadhkirat, 2:481 (no. 495); Ibn Hajar, Tahdhîb, 3:152-54 (no. 290); Ibn Sa[c]d, 7ii:92; Ibn Abî Hâtim, 3:371 (no. 1690); Bukhârî, 2i:196 (no. 665); Abû Nu[c]aym, Hilyat, 8:391, 9:5.

33 Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:660; Khatîb, 8:328.

34 Abû Nu[c]aym, Hilyat, 9:5.

[35]Khaṭîb, 8:328; Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:660; Idem, Tadhkirat, 2:481; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 3:152.

[36]Khaṭîb, 8:328-30.

[37]Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 3:153.

[38]Ibn Saᶜd, 7ii:92.

[39]al-Ḥâkim al-Nîsâbûrî, al-Madkhal ilá maᶜrifat al-iklîl, ed. and trans. James Robson, An Introduction to the Science of Tradition, Oriental Translation Fund, n.s., vol. 39 (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1953), p. 37.

[40]Shîrâzî, p. 177.

[41]Ibid. Cf., p. 179.

[42]Ibn Saᶜd, 5:309; Samᶜânî, fol. 313b; Yâqût, 3:166-67; Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:201; Dhahabî, Mîzân, 4:575 (no. 10621); Idem, Tadhkirat, 1:234-35 (no. 221); Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 10:419-22 (no. 758); Khaṭîb, 13:427-31 (no. 7304); Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, 2:148; Ibn Qutaybah, Maᶜârif, p. 504. See J. Horovitz and F. Rosenthal, "Abû Maᶜshar," EI² 1 (1960):140.

[43]Khaṭîb, 13:428; Dhahabî, Tadhkirat, 1:234-35. It should be noted that Najîḥ's two forgettable grandsons--Dâ'ûd and al-Ḥusayn--regularly de-emphasize the Sindî origins of their grandfather, almost as if it were a matter of shame. Dâ'ûd, for example, asserted that Najîḥ was from the Yaman and white and blue-eyed, while al-Ḥusayn noted that Najîḥ could trace his descent back to Adam (Khaṭîb, 13:427-28; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 10:421). The primary sources generally prefer the version of Najîḥ's son Muḥammad as reported to Abû Nuᶜaym (and not to his own sons).

[44]Khaṭîb, 13:427; Samᶜânî, fol. 313b; Dhahabî, Tadhkirat, 1:235; Ibn al-Qaysarânî, p. 77.

[45]Khaṭîb, 13:427; Dhahabî, Tadhkirat, 1:234; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 10:419.

[46]Khaṭîb, 13:427; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 10:421.

[47]Ibn Saᶜd, 5:309; Khaṭîb, 13:431; Ibn Qutaybah, Maᶜârif, p. 504. B. Dodge's translation of Ibn al-Nadîm (1:201) has Najîḥ

as "a scribe of princes of the Banû Makhzûm" apparently translating mukâtab as scribe and imra'h as princes (umarâ'). See Ibn al-Nadîm, text 1:93. Actually, Najîh was a tailor and not a scribe (see Khaṭîb, 13:428; Cohen, pp. 27-28). A mukâṭab slave was one who was eligible to purchase his freedom. See Abraham L. Udovitch, Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 27-28.

[48]Khaṭîb, 13:428.

[49]Sam^cânî, fol. 313b.

[50]Ibn al-Nadîm, 1:93. See Nabia Abbott, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vols. 75-76 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957-67), 1:75, 2:273. Sezgin (GAS, 1:291-92) gives an additional title, Ta'rîkh al-khulafâ'.

[51]Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 9:276 (no. 1161); Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 6:290 (no. 1032); Ibn Nuqṭah cited in the margins of Ibn Mâkûlâ, 1:438-39.

[52]Ibn Ḥibbân cited in Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 6:290.

[53]For the Biyâsirah in classical Arabic literature see Mubârakpûrî, ^cArab, pp. 78-80.

[54]Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 1:25-26 (no. 28); Shaykh al-Ṭâ'ifah al-Ṭûsî, Rijâl, ed. Muḥammad Ṣâdiq (Najaf: Maṭba^cat al-Ḥaydarîyah, 1381/1961), p. 416; Idem, al-Fihrist, ed. Muḥammad Ṣâdiq (Najaf: Maṭba^cat al-Ḥaydarîyah, 1380/1960), p. 106 (no. 343); Ibn Shahrâshûb, Kitâb ma^câlim al-^culamâ', ed. ^cAbbâs Iqbâl (Tehran: Fardîn, 1353/1934), pp. 50-51; Ibn Dâ'ûd, Kitâb al-rijâl, ed. Jalâl al-Dîn al-Ḥusaynî (Tehran: Dânishgâh, 1342 A.H.S./1383/1963), p. 179 (no. 727); Muḥammad b. ^cAlî Ardabîlî, Jâmi^c al-ruwâh wa-izâḥat al-ishtibâhât ^can al-ṭuruq wa-al-isnâd, 2 vols. (Tehran: al-Muḥammadî, n.d.), 1:389-90; Muḥammad Taqî al-Tustarî, Qâmûs al-rijâl, 11 vols. (Tehran: Markiz Nashr al-Kitâb, 1379-91/1959-71), 1:92-93.

[55]Ṭûsî, Rijâl, p. 416; Idem, Fihrist, p. 106; Ibn Dâ'ûd, p. 179.

[56]Ṭûsî, Fihrist, p. 106; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 1:25-26. It presumably concerned vernacular expressions in Shî^cite traditions.

[57]Ṭûsî, Rijâl, p. 416.

[58] Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 5:119.

[59] Dhahabî, Mîzân, 4:387, and Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr, Jâmiᶜ bayân al-ᶜilm, ed. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmân Muḥammad ᶜUthmân, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Medina: al-Maktabah al-Sulafîyah, 1388/1968), 2:28.

[60] Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 5:119.

[61] Samᶜânî, fol. 543b; Ibn al-Qaysarânî, p. 154.

[62] Abû Nuᶜaym, Ḥilyat, 8:260, 9:403.

[63] Ibid., 7:22, 67.

[64] Jâmî, p. 57; Abû Naṣr ᶜAbd Allâh al-Sarrâj, Kitâb al-lumaᶜ fî-al-taṣawwuf, ed. R. A. Nicholson, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 22 (London: Luzac, 1914), pp. 177, 325, 334.

[65] Dhahabî, Mîzân, 3:286; Yâqût, 2:588.

[66] Khaṭîb, 4:432.

[67] Ibn al-Jawzî, Ṣifat, 4:92-94; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamî, Kitâb ṭabaqât al-ṣûfîyah, ed. Johannes Pedersen (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pp. 61, 66.

[68] Ibn al-Jawzî, Ṣifat, 4:94.

[69] Samᶜânî, fol. 236b.

[70] Samᶜânî mentions the traditionists Aḥmad al-Daybulî heard in each of these places and considers him one of the foremost of the travellers for traditions. See Goldziher, Muslim Studies, 2:164-80, for a discussion of these journeys.

[71] Samᶜânî, fol. 236b. For al-Ḥasan b. Yaᶜqûb al-Ḥaddâd see ibid., fol. 158.

[72] Subkî, 3:55-56 (no. 101) gives the correct form of the nisbah as al-Daybulî, adding "some people have alleged that he is al-Dabîlî [not al-Daybulî] the writer of the Adab al-quḍâ', but this is incorrect. That one is ᶜAlî b. Aḥmad and this one is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad." For ᶜAlî al-Dabîlî see Subkî, 5:243-46. Notwithstanding Subkî's explicit statement, Mubârakpûrî, Rijâl, pp. 174-76, and Ḥusaynî, p. 291, both consider ᶜAlî al-Dabîlî a Daybulese.

[73]Ibid., 3:55. Mubârakpûrî, Rijâl, pp. 55-56 (followed by Husaynî, p. 296) both read khayyât (tailor) as hâfiz and conclude that he was a Qur'ân memorizer. The text, however, clearly has khayyât and, moreover, describes his tailoring of shirts (qamîs).

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid. See Hujwîrî, p. 302, for arbâb-i ahwâl and pp. 373-74 for mukâshafât.

[76]Ibid., 3:55-56. This is the mystic Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Zakarîyâ', known as Abû al-ᶜAbbâs al-Nasawî (GAS, 1:668), to be distinguished from the Shâfiᶜite jurist al-Hasan b. Sufyân, also known as Abû al-ᶜAbbâs al-Nasawî.

[77]Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:152 (no. 598); Idem, Tadhkirat, 2: 888, 896; Ibn Hajar, Lisân, 1:296 (no. 875); Khatîb, 13:182.

[78]Dhahabî (Mîzân, 1:152), however, accepts him as truthful (sadûq) except for his traditions from al-Tihrânî.

[79]Khatîb, 4:354 (no. 2201).

[80]For the terms see Cohen, pp. 48, 54.

[81]Ibn Abî Hâtim, 2:126.

[82]Samᶜânî, fol. 314; Khatîb, 4:187 (no. 1873).

[83]Samᶜânî, fol. 158, 314; Khatîb, 4:187 (no. 1874); Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, 1:262.

[84]Abû Nuᶜaym, Hilyat, 1:74, 174, 324; 2:275, 310, 387; 3:330; 4:35, 40, 87, 276, 314; 7:92; 8:184, 211, 377; 9:230.

[85]Samᶜânî, fol. 314; Khatîb, 4:187.

[86]Khatîb, 4:187, quoting Abû Nuᶜaym.

[87]Khatîb, 2:405.

[88]Ibid., 11:354-55 (no. 6206).

[89]Muhammad b. cUmar al-Kashshî, Ikhtiyâr macrifat al-rijâl al-macrûf bi-rijâl al-Kashshî, ed. Hasan al-Mustafawî (Mashhad: Dânishkadah-yi Ilâhîyât va-Macârif-i Islâmî, Dânishgah Mashhad, 1348 A.H.S./1970), p. 598 (no. 1119); Ardabîlî, 1:389; Tustarî, 5:16.

[90]Khatîb, 3:327, 13:427, 430; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhîb, 10:421.

[91]Khatîb, 12:362 (no. 6794).

[92]Samcânî, fol. 314; Yâqût, 3:166; Ibn al-Qaysarânî, p. 77; Abû cÂsim Muhammad b. Ahmad al-cAbbâdî, Kitâb tabaqât al-fuqahâ' al-Shâfiçîyah, ed. G. Vitestam (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 58.

[93]Tûsî, Rijâl, p. 331; Ardabîlî, 2:310.

[94]Khatîb, 8:272 (no. 4370); Ibn al-Jawzî, Manâqib al-Imâm Ahmad b. Hanbal (Beirut: Khânjî wa-Hamdân, 1973), p. 96; Ibn Abî Yaclâ al-Farrâ', Tabaqât al-Hanâbilah, ed. Muhammad Hâmid al-Faqî, 2 vols. (Cairo: Matbacat al-Sunnat al-Muhammadîyah, 1371/1952), 1:146-47 (no. 190).

[95]Khatîb, 8:91-92 (no. 4187); Dhahabî, Mîzân, 1:547 (no. 2054).

[96]Ibn cAsâkir, 4:355-56.

[97]Abû Nucaym, Hilyat, 5:168 (as Ibrâhîm b. cAlî b. al-Sindî); Idem, Kitâb dhikr akhbâr Isbahân, ed. Sven Dedering, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931-34), 1:193 (as Ibrâhîm b. al-Sindî b. cAlî); Sulaymân b. Ahmad al-Tabarânî, al-Mucjam al-saghîr, ed. cAbd al-Rahmân Muhammad cUthmân, 2 vols. (Medina: al-Maktabah al-Sulafîyah, 1388/1968), 1:93 (as Ibrâhîm al-Sindî al-Isbahânî).

[98]Samcânî, fol. 236b; Yâqût, 2:638; Dhahabî, Mushtabah, p. 292; Ibn Hajar, Tabsîr, 2:575.

[99]Samcânî, fol. 236b.

[100]Jâhiz, Hayawân, 1:55-56, 2:140; 5:393, 396; Idem, Rasâ'il, 1:77, 81; Idem, Kitâb al-bayân wa-al-tabyîn, ed. cAbd al-Salâm Muhammad Hârûn, 4 vols. (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lîf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, 1948-50), 1:84, 95, 126, 141, 193, 335, 2:267, 328-30; 3:378; Ibn Qutaybah, Kitâb cuyûn al-akhbâr, 10 vols. (Cairo: Wizârat al-Thaqâfah wa-al-Irshâd al-Qawmî, 1963),

3:121-22; Abû al-Fadl Ahmad Tayfûr, Baghdâd (Cairo: ᶜIzzat al-ᶜAttâr al-Husaynî, 1368/1949), pp. 40-43. See Ch. Pellat, "Ibrâhîm b. al-Sindî," EI² 3 (1971):990.

101 For Sindî b. Shâhak see Samᶜânî, fol. 313b; Yaᶜqûbî, Ta'rîkh, 2:439, 495, 499; Tabarî, 3:145, 580, 685 et passim; Crone, pp. 194-95.

102 Jâhiz, Bayân, 1:335, Hayawân, 2:140.

103 Idem, Bayân, 1:335, Rasâ'il, 1:77. See the observations by Pellat, "Ibrâhîm b. al-Sindî," pp. 121-22.

104 Idem, Bayân, 1:335.

105 Tûsî, Rijâl, p. 144; Ardabîlî, 1:22.

106 Tûsî, Fihrist, p. 223 (no. 894); Ibn Shahrâshûb, p. 128 (no. 954); Ardabîlî, 1:654, 2:409.

107 Khatîb, 6:283 (no. 3315).

108 Tûsî, Rijâl, p. 187; Ibn Dâ'ûd, p. 141 (no. 562).

109 Abû Nuᶜaym, Akhbâr, 2:321; Ibn al-Jazarî, Ghâyat al-nihâyah fî-tabaqât al-qurrâ', ed. G. Bergstraesser, Bibliotheca Islamica, 3 vols. (Cairo: Matbaᶜat al-Saᶜâdah, 1351-54/1932-35), 2:314 (no. 3661).

110 Ibn al-Jazarî, 1:281, 2:190 (no. 3201); Ibn al-Jawzî, Sifat, 4:52-53 (as Abû ᶜAbd Allâh al-Daybulî in his chapter on Daybulese mystics).

111 Khatîb, 3:326-27 (no. 1433); Ibn Hajar, Tahdhîb, 9:487 (no. 794).

112 I am following the Hyderabad edition of Samᶜânî (ed. ᶜAbd al-Rahmân b. Yahyâ al-Yamânî, 6 vols. [Hyderabad, Deccan: Dâ'irat al-Maᶜârif al-ᶜUthmânîyah, 1962], 5:440) which gives the name as Muhammad b. Ahmad and the date of his death as 345. The Leiden facsimile reproduction (used unless otherwise cited), fol. 236b, has Muhammad b. Muhammad and the date unclearly as 346 or 347.

113 Ishaq (Hadith Literature, p. 34) and Pathan (Mansurah, p. 150) both add Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Firyâbî on the basis of Samᶜânî, fol. 236b. However, the facsimile has the name Muhammad

b. al-Ḥasan al-Firyâbî ᶜUthmân b. Abî Suwayd al-Baṣrî with al-Ḥasan al-Firyâbî clearly crossed out by the copyist. The Hyderabad edition (5:440) correctly reads Muḥammad b. ᶜUthmân b. Abî Suwayd al-Baṣrî.

114 Samᶜânî, 5:440 (Hyderabad edition). For Abû ᶜAmr b. Nujayd see Sulamî, pp. 476-80 (no. 88).

115 Ibn al-Jazarî, 1:281, 2:133-34 (no. 2972).

116 Samᶜânî, fol. 236b; Yâqût, 2:638; Dhahabî, Tadhkirat, 3:816; Idem, Mushtabah, p. 292; Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, 1:522-23.

117 Samᶜânî, fol. 236b. For these works see Ibn al-Nadîm, trans. Dodge, 1:75, 552.

118 Ibid., fol. 313b-314; Dhahabî, Tadhkirat, 2:686 (no. 706); Sahmî, p. 350 (no. 653).

119 Khaṭîb, 5:276-77 (no. 2771).

120 Abû Nuᶜaym, Ḥilyat, 8:248.

121 Sahmî, p. 426 (no. 935); Samᶜânî, fol. 582b.

122 Jâḥiẓ, Bayân, 1:335.

123 Khaṭîb, 13:302 (no. 7281).

124 Samᶜânî, fol. 313b-314; Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 3:503 (no. 2275); Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 3:767-68 (no. 505); Ibn al-Qaysarânî, p. 77.

125 Khaṭîb, 5:277.

126 Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhîb, 3:268.

127 Abû Nuᶜaym, Ḥilyat, 7:23.

128 Kashshî, p. 331; Ṭûsî, Rijâl, p. 476; Ardabîlî, 1:406.

129 Samᶜânî, fol. 451-451b; Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, 3:34.

130 Samᶜânî, fol. 451-451b. Mubârakpûrî (Rijâl, p. 153) and Ḥusaynî (p. 298), both citing Samᶜânî, list his teacher as

Abû al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyá b. Abî al-Ḥasan al-Rawwâsî al-Ḥâfiẓ, inadvertently conjoining his teacher Abû al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyá and his student Abû al-Fityân ᶜUmar b. Abî al-Ḥasan al-Rawwâsî. For this latter individual see Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, 2:40.

131 Ibn al-Jawzî, Manâqib, pp. 97, 294; Ibn Abî Yaᶜlá, 1:170-71.

132 Khaṭîb, 9:234 (no. 4808).

133 Samᶜânî, fol. 235, 314; Yâqût, 2:634; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 3:116 (no. 392); Idem, Tahdhîb, 1:197; Dhahabî, Mushtabah, p. 373; Sahmî, pp. 340, 343; Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:201 (no. 867), 318-19 (no. 1386); Ṭabarânî, 1:97; Ibn al-Qaysarânî, p. 78; Ṣafadî, 15:488 (no. 651).

134 Samᶜânî, fol. 314; Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:201; Ṣafadî, 15: 488; Ibn al-Qaysarânî, p. 78.

135 Dhahabî, Mushtabah, p. 373.

136 Ṭabarânî, 1:97.

137 Ishaq, Hadith Literature, pp. 212-13.

138 Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:318.

139 Samᶜânî, fol. 314.

140 Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:319; Ṣafadî, 15:488.

141 Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:318 (no. 1385); Dhahabî, Mîzân, 2: 236 (no. 3566); Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 3:116 (no. 393); Abû Nuᶜaym, Ḥilyat, 8:165.

142 Ibn Dâ'ûd, p. 179 (no. 726); Ardabîlî, 1:389; Tustarî, 5:17.

143 Ṭûsî, Rijâl, pp. 378, 431, 476; Idem, Fihrist, p. 107 (no. 345); Kashshî, p. 433; Ibn Shahrâshûb, p. 51; Ibn Dâ'ûd, p. 179 (no. 725); Ardabîlî, 1:389; Tustarî, 5:16-17.

144 Bukhârî, 2ii:216 (no. 2553); Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:318 (no. 1384).

[145]Bukhârî, 2ii:104 (no. 2119); Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:246 (no. 1062); Dhahabî, Mîzân, 2:242 (no. 3603); Ibn Ḥajar, Lisân, 3:124-25 (no. 435).

[146]Dhahabî, Mîzân, 2:242.

[147]In the opinion of Ibrâhîm b. Tahmân al-Harawî, ʿAbbâd b. ʿAwwâm, and Yaḥyâ b. Maʿîn. See Dhahabî, Mîzân, 2:242, and Ibn Abî Ḥâtim, 4:246.

[148]Ṭûsî, Rijâl, p. 217; Ardabîlî, 1:350.

[149]Ibn al-Jawzî, Muntaẓam, 6:149.

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